

The Indian ANNUAL REGISTER 1923--Vol. II.

Dealing with -----

India in Home Policy 1923

India in International Policy 1923

India in British Parliament 1923

India in the Dominions & Abroad 1923

Proceedings of Indian Councils 1923

An Educational Annual 1923 Etc

Is being delayed as authentic papers regarding some of the affairs of Nov.—Dec. 1923—such as the Munga White Paper, the Imperial Conference Proceedings, the Royal Commission, etc—became available only lately, and remain still to be incorporated. As the bulk of the book is greatly increasing, the present Volume containing 'ANNUAL CONGRESS & COMMISSIONS 1923' being ready, is issued in advance as a SUPPLEMENT to the 1923 REGISTER, Vol. II. This Volume will complete the register up to Dec. 1923. From April 1924 a QUARTERLY REGISTER of Indian Public Affairs will be issued to make the publication more timely.

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AFFAIRS OF INDIA IN MATTERS POLITICAL,
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INTRODUCTION

CONGRESS-WEEK at Cocanada witnessed scenes of unbounded enthusiasm amongst the thousands of nationals of the country who had gone there from all quarters of India to attend the National Congress. An influential Reception Committee formed from the Andhra Province looked to the reception, housing, board and other arrangements for the huge concourse of people who had gathered there. A small town called GANDHI-NAGAR, built of tents and bamboo thatches, was temporarily erected on a stretch of sandy soil some 2 miles away from the town. A huge pandal was set up for the Congress inside an enclosed pavilion—all in Khadi—accommodating some 12 thousands Delegates and visitors. A separate pandal, also in khadi, was erected for the Khilafat and Ulemas' Conference; and there were other big tents for the Khadi Exhibition, the Akalis, and others. Besides the usual political Conferences held along with the Congress every year—namely, the Khilafat Conference, the Students' Conference, the Ladies' Conference and the Ulemas' Conference (held along with the Congress since Gaya in 1922)—there were also inaugurated 2 new political Conferences at Cocanada. Of these the All-India Volunteers' Conference was a direct offshoot of the Ahmedabad National Congress where Mahatma Gandhi had called into being the National Volunteers' Corps. Since the Mahatmas' incarceration this Volunteer movement was almost dying out till it was again revived by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and S. J. Hardikar. The All-India Khadi Exhibition was the other offshoot of the Congress where the Khadi workers found full scope and the various khadi-pracharak-samitis of the country were brought together to consolidate and organise the khadi work of the Congress on a more extensive basis. Advantage was also taken of such a vast all-India gathering to hold a number of less important Conferences. The Social Conference opened on the 29th Dec. was presided over by Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer. A Theistic Conference with Prof. Beni Madhav Das as the president was held on the 28th Dec. The All-India Libraries Conference was opened by Mr. M. R. Jayakar on the 26th, and a Hindu Sahitya Sammilan to organise propagation of an All-India Hindi Script was held on the 23rd with Seth Jamnallal Bajaj presiding in the place of Babu Rajendra Prosad of Patna. The Swarajists held their party meeting on the 29th Dec., while the Akalis with Sardar Mangal Singh held their demonstrations and meetings almost every day.

The Congress was announced to be held on Dec. 24th but on the representation made by Mr. C. R. Das and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee it was postponed to the 28th. This was a concession to the Bengal delegates who could not come in time owing to a serious breach in the East Coast Railway line and the stoppage of trains from Calcutta.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT

Maulana Mahomed Ali, the President-elect of the Congress, and Maulana Shaukat Ali, the President-elect of the Khilafat Conference, arrived at Cocanada on the 24th December. The great majority of the provincial leaders with their contingent of delegates had come by this time. Mr. C. R. Das and his Bengal supporters came on the 25th. For the next few days there were meetings and processions EN GALORE. The Municipal Board of Cocanada presented their address of welcome to the Ali Brothers and some of the leaders. With the arrival of the two presidents-elect the national week commenced.

THE NATIONAL FLAG

On the 28th morning the National flag was hoisted and unfurled by Moulana Mahomed Ali in a quadrangle where the Congress offices were erected. The Volunteers and Bhajan parties with small National flags in their hands rallied round the flag-staff. Mr. Sambamurti requested Moulana Mahomed Ali to hoist the Flag of Freedom. In doing so Moulana Mahomed Ali made a short speech as follows :—

“Sisters and Brothers,—As commanded by you I am here to unfurl the Flag of the Nation. This Flag is nothing if it is not the Flag of Freedom. But it cannot be the Flag of our Freedom unless it is also the Flag of our national unity. You have commanded me to unfurl this Flag and hoist it. I ask you, are you prepared to stand by the Indian nationality against all difficulties (cries of yes, yes). Then, you pledge yourself solemnly under God’s sky and on God’s earth that you will fight, in your own non-violent fashion, everyone who is opposed to India’s unity and integrity, whether it be the stranger outside the gate or the enemy inside the gate. It is a very poor thing to fight against the aggressor from outside the gate. Every nation does that. Every nation has been doing it, good nations and bad nations alike. But for those who have not won freedom it is more important to consider the enemy within the gate and that enemy is our own evil nature which wants personal ambitions to be placed above national honour, above national freedom or independence (cheers.)

“Then, you will have to forget to-day that you are separated into Hindus and Mussalmans, for you are all of one faith in defence of the National Flag (hear, hear.) You will also recognise that you are all one, whether you are Moderates, Nationalists or Liberals. Whosoever you are, so long as you are here you will have to sink all party differences and go out as one man because you are one nation. If you solemnly pledge to forget all these differences, then and then only ask me to unfurl this Flag. (Cries of yes, yes, we shall forget). Down with the differences that degrade and demoralise us, down with rancour, down with ill-will,—are you prepared, I ask you? (loud and repeated cries of yes, we are). Then I call God to witness, for you and for me, and in God’s name, I unfurl it (loud cheers).”

This speech was delivered both in English and Urdu. Sjt Harisarvottama Rao translated it sentence by sentence into Telugu. As soon as the Flag was hoisted, Moulana Mahommed Ali saluted it and all the rest followed suit. This Flag has now been erected permanently on a masonry structure at the same place. The Congress opened the same day in the afternoon.

THE OPENING CEREMONY

Amidst usual scenes of enthusiasm the 34th session of the Indian National Congress opened at 3 p.m. on the 28th Dec. 1923, in the spacious pandal which was fully packed by the delegates and distinguished and ordinary visitors. Unlike previous sessions, this year the pandal was constructed in the circus model and served better from the point of convenience and general arrangements. Decorations were simple and were confined to the use of Khaddar and display of leaders' photos, but a particular feature was the exhibition of great many pictures of almost all the ex-Presidents of the Congress, a number of whom are now leading Moderates definitely opposed to the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi's picture was, as usual, given the place of honour and next in prominence were those of the Ali Brothers.

NEW SITTING ARRANGEMENT.

While since Ahmedabad chairs and benches have been discarded and all those attending the Congress have to squat on the floor, the Coconada Reception Committee introduced a change by providing wooden galleries to meet the convenience of the visitors who had back-seats. This arrangement did not, however, prove fully successful as a couple of galleries gave way under the weight resulting in minor hurts to a few visitors.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT.

The President-elect, Moulana Mahomed Ali, arrived at three o'clock and was received at the gate by Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, Chairman, and the members of the Reception Committee. He was conducted, amid shouts of Gandhi-ki-jai, to the dais in a procession which included Moulana Shaikat Ali, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Sorojini Naidu, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Vithalbai Patel, Seth Jannalal Bajaj, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Harisarvottama Rao, and Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi. These were followed by fifty Akalis headed by Sardar Mangal Singh, all dressed in black and with kirpans in their hands shouting "Sat Sri Akal." Flowers were showered on Mr. Mahomed Ali on his taking his seat on the dais on which were seated among others a few prominent Liberals and members of Legislatures, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao M. L. A., Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, Hon Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. C. Venkatapatti Raju M. L. A., Mr. A. Rangaswami

Iyengar, M. L. A., Mr. Setthayya, Mr. S. Satyamurthi M. L. C., Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi M. L. C., Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao M. L. C., Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Alladi Krishnasawami Iyer, Mr. V. Ramadoos, Sir P. C. Roy, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, Babu Sheoprasad Gupta, Pandit Sundar Lal, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Santanam, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. Gopala Krishnayya and others.

PROCEEDINGS BEGIN.

Proceedings commenced after three. Another deviation from practice was that while previously proceedings were opened only by national songs like "Bande Mataram", this year they were prefaced by recitation of Vedas by Brahmins followed by a recitation from Koran by an Arab. The latter explained that his recitations dwelt on the subject of unity as a commandment of the Prophet not to waste their energies in quarrels.

Mr. Konda Venkatappava, Chairman of the Reception Committee, though an Andhra delivered his welcome address in Hindi,—a fact which was taken as indicating the spread of that language in South India with a view to adopting Hindustani as the National language throughout India.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

When Moulana Mahomed Ali rose to deliver his address, speculation was rife as to whether, in view of the record length of the speech, he would read the whole of it or only the important portions. Moulana Mahomed Ali chose the latter course, but even then he took several hours and the Congress sat till 9-30 in the evening.

His speech was heard with close attention and in silence. Moulana Mahomed Ali frequently introduced new observations not included in the written speech, and made humorous observations by the way which sometimes sent the whole house reeling with laughter.

While Moulana Mahomed Ali was still delivering his speech a volunteer came and informed the Chairman of the Reception Committee that there was a great gathering of people outside. So Moulana Shaikat Ali went to keep them in order. He was followed by Messrs C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel. The overflow meetings were addressed by Moulana Shaikat Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and S. J. Shyamsundar Chakravarti, Pt. Sunderlal and others. The full text of the two addresses, the Chairman's and the President's, is reproduced in the following pages.

The Cocanada National Congress 1923. Historical.

The following is a brief outline of Congress Politics during the last year.*

The Gaya Congress of 1922, presided over by Mr. C. R. Das, was broken up into two warring factions. One was the Council-entry party, or Pro-Councillors, also called Pro-changers, headed by Mr. C. R. Das and Pt. Motilal Nehru; and the other was the orthodox N-C-O party, known as the Anti-Council party or the No-changers, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who succeeded Mahatma Gandhi to the editorship of the Mahatma's organ "YOUNG INDIA."

The history of their origin is this: The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee in June 1922, ostensibly for the purpose of reviving N-C-O activities which had in the previous six months been almost paralysed by an intensive campaign of repression by the Government, toured up and down India collecting evidences of N-C-O workers as regards the feasibility of undertaking mass Civil Disobedience. The enquiry exposed the rotten-ness of the N-C-O organisation. The question of mass civil disobedience was shelved and in its place arose the question as to whether the original boycott of the Councils pronounced in the N-C-O programme should be maintained as heretofore. Three members of the Committee, namely, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Mr. V. J. Patel and Hakim Ajmal Khan expressed themselves strongly in favour of Council-entry while the other three members, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, and Mr. Kasturi-ranga Ivengar were opposed to it. The report of this Committee was presented to the President of the Congress, Mr. C. R. Das, on 30th. October 1922, and its publication was the signal of an acute press controversy which went on till the Gaya Congress was held in December 1922. In his Presidential Address Mr. Das openly threw in his lot with the Pro-councillors. This created a great and unexpected ferment, as Mr. Das was believed to an out and out Gandhite, and the Congress was on the point of breaking up in a fiasco.

* For a fuller account: See I. A. R. 1922 Vol. I. and the forthcoming I. A. R. 1923 vol. II. which deal with the Political History of India of the period.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The followers of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari were, however, so well-organised and numerically stronger that on almost all points of contention the new party sustained a heavy defeat. Pandit Motilal's proposition, that—"it is resolved with reference to the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee that non-co-operators should contest the elections on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj in accordance with the principle of non-violent non-co-operation and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority" was rejected by a large majority. But the voting was significant. It disclosed a very deep cleavage in the Congress ranks. About a third of the delegates at Gaya voted for a change in favour of the Pro-Council party, and this group commanded the majority of the most influential of the Provincial leaders. The opposite party, though having a clear two-thirds majority, counted its support mainly on the younger section of Congress-men.

This perpetuated the split. Immediately after the Congress at Gaya Mr. C. R. Das declared that the resolutions discussed in the Subjects Committee and those passed by the Congress had convinced him that there were at least two schools of thought with fundamental differences. He issued a manifesto, forming what was then known as the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party, accepting, however, the creed of the Congress, namely the attainment of Swaraj by all peaceful and legitimate means and also the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. The defeat of Mr. Das' party did not, as some pessimists had expected, lead to a secession from the Congress. Mr. Das expected to convert soon his minority into a majority. Much was the gulf widened between the two parties by an intemperate and irresponsible press. Mutual recrimination became the order of the day and motives concocted in editorial conclaves were gratuitously fathered upon the leaders. Mr. Das toured western India to consolidate his party, while Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and his confederates were preaching to the people the utter futility of the Council method and urging them on to work the constructive programme with a view to prepare for mass civil disobedience. The bitter controversy raised by the two parties gradually filtered down to all sections of the people. The result was that the work of both the wings of the Congress was totally paralysed. Much confusion prevailed. No work was done. The Pro-changers were speaking with a hundred voices: some were for responsive co-operation, or co-operation when possible and non-co-operation when necessary, and others for wholesale, continuous and unfaltering obstruction in the Councils. Even those who were opposed to Council-entry were equally divided, some of them aimed at mass civil disobedience through constructive programme, while others wanted to concentrate on the Khilafat and national education programme for its own sake, and so on. The N-C-O resolutions passed at Gaya asked for 50,000 Volunteers and 25 lakhs of Rupees for the Congress fund. But

it was soon found that party quarrels were much better employment for the leaders than active execution of the resolution. Consequently, with the lapse of time, that resolution, became a dead-letter, and the country lapsed into inactivity for people were growing disgusted at the very name of the Congress.

THE COMPROMISE

Early in February 1923 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad exerted himself to bring about a compromise between the factional parties. A good section of public opinion supported this new move, because it was recognised on all hands that the integrity of the Congress could not be kept in tact while veterans like Mr. Das, Pandit Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan were not in agreement with its policy, and that a way out of the impasse must be devised so that both the wings might work out their respective programmes without hindering each other's work. When Mr. Das was in Bombay in February, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had a long discussion with him and his party and proposed "that both parties should suspend Council propaganda for two months and work whole-heartedly to collect men and money according to the Gaya resolution of the Congress; that, if by that time the country became prepared for Civil Disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee would so declare, in which case both parties should join in such Civil Disobedience; that, if on the contrary the All-India Congress Committee fail to make such declaration, each party would be at liberty to continue the Council propaganda and accept the verdict of a special session of the Congress to be held in the month of June." Mr. Das consulted the members of his party and informed the Maulana Sahib that the terms proposed were not acceptable to them, and proposed another set of terms—"that we should allow each other to work out our separate programmes without interference and unitedly work out the programme in which we all agreed; that in the event of the Working Committee not accepting our proposal, he would agree to suspend Council propaganda for two months to enable the majority party to work out their scheme of Civil Disobedience unhampered in any way." The first proposal was rejected by the Working Committee and the second was never placed before it. The Maulana however did not give up his efforts. At Allahabad and afterwards at Calcutta, he discussed his proposals with the leaders of the Das-Nehru party and, as a result, a compromise was arrived at Allahabad, the terms of which were: "the suspension of the Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April; both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interfering with each other; the majority party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya programme about money and volunteers; the minority party will cooperate with the majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme

and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters; each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised; and this arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing Councils in any province before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted."

This compromise satisfied nobody. The extreme non-co-operator and the extreme Pro-Councillor agreed in condemning it as useless. In fact, the terms were not carried out during the period stipulated for the purpose. At the end of the period, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement recognising the failure of both the parties to carry out the terms of the compromise and reiterated that the programme before Congressmen was the one adopted at Gaya, though the other party could pursue their own plans. This statement evoked a great deal of angry criticism even amongst Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's supporters. The uneasiness that characterised the first two months after the Gaya Congress again prevailed. There was practically no programme before the country. The old constructive programme of the Congress remained a dead letter.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

Though it was a terrible defeat that Mr. Das and his party sustained at Gaya, he succeeded gradually in consolidating the position of his party more and more, much to the detriment and chagrin of the orthodox party. The new party came to be known as the SWARAJ party. The public were, however, kept in a state of unbearable suspense for about two months about the programme of the new party. The Maharashtra politicians led by Mr. N. C. Kelkar were insisting on "Responsive co-operation" which meant nothing more than opposition in the Council when necessary and co-operation when possible. Mr. Kelkar especially made it clear that the party must enter the Councils with the definite object of helping the constructive programme. On the contrary Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru used different terminology. They were not for small gains and concessions. They said they were out to wreck the constitution by means of wholesale and continuous obstruction within the Councils. They would oppose even good pieces of legislation with a view to realise the ultimate, and certainly the greater, object of bringing the Government down. It was felt that the party must meet at an early date and formulate a programme written in precise language. And so at Allahabad the meeting was held and a programme settled. The detailed programme was that the scheme prepared by Mr. Das be circulated for criticism; the immediate object of the party is the attainment of Swaraj, that is, securing the right to frame a constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people; that the party will, when they are elected, present on behalf of the country its

legitimate demands as formulated by the party as soon as the elections are over, and ask for their acceptance within a reasonable time by the Government; that if the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the party, occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible, but before adopting such a policy the representatives of the party in the Councils, will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining an express mandate of the electorates on their behalf. This programme removed, to a certain extent, the many misconceptions in the public mind regarding the policy of the Swarajists. It was however, pointed out that the policy of obstruction decided upon by the party could not succeed, the Reform regulations being what they are. There might be effective opposition but no obstruction of business even for effective opposition. And it was feared that the party might not succeed in securing a majority in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The certification of the Princes' Protection Bill and the Salt Tax by the Viceroy gave additional impetus to anti-Swarajist propaganda. Mr. Das then made it perfectly clear that neither he nor his party believed that Swaraj would come through Councils; but it was necessary that the Councils, which being full of pro-government men were powerful instruments of repression in the hands of the authorities, should be smashed and a situation created in the country when Government could no longer pretend to rule through Parliamentary methods, when they would be compelled either to climb down and accept the demands of the people or go back to pure autocracy. It was further argued by the Swarajists that even granting that mass civil disobedience was the only course open to the country, preparation for the same could not be better made than by exposing the farcical character of the Councils, by making co-operation between Liberals and Government impossible.

THE CENTRAL PARTY & THE SPECIAL CONGRESS.

In the meantime the No-change party tried to put their programme into motion. But suddenly several serious riots, due to a tension of feeling between Hindus and Muslims in Northern India, marred their prospect. The Punjab again became the hot-bed of communal feuds which broke out into serious riots at Multan and Amritsar. The Municipal and legislative policy of a Muslim Minister and the Sudhi and Sangathan movement of the Hindus inaugurated by Swami Shriadhanand were said to have snapped the bond of Hindu-Muslim unity for which the Congress had for the last year so strenuously and successfully worked. The No-changers laid the blame at the door of the Swarajists for having raised the Council question at all. The visit of Mr. Das and others to the scene of the riots proved futile, and Hindu-Muslim Unity, more specially in the Punjab, remained for the time being only a pious hope.

The Nagpur flag movement, started in April 1922 was another attempt made by the No-changers to regain their lost reputation and majority of following in the country. But the beauty of this Satyagraha battle was overshadowed by further indecent Hindu-Muslim riots that occurred in Upper India.

At the end of the period of compromise, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay in May 1922 and a resolution permitting the Swarajists to enter the Councils without using Congress influence was adopted.

This again raked up another bitter controversy and it was at this time that the Compromise party or the CENTRE PARTY came into existence under the leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel. The emergence of this party was a great blow to the orthodox party. Great discontent prevailed. Attempts were made to cancel the Bombay resolution of compromise. A requisition letter was sent to the secretaries of the A. I. C. C. and a meeting of the Committee was decided to be held. The leaders of the two parties moved up and down the country saying many unpleasant things that happened in the meantime. Mr. Das was said to have disclaimed all moral responsibility for, and withdrawn support from, the Nagpur Satyagraha fight in spite of his declaration at the Gaya Congress that he would be the first man to lead the people along the thorny path of mass Civil Disobedience if they were ready for it. Even in Swarajist quarters, there lurked a fear that Mr. Das had committed a tactical blunder when he withdrew his support. In the face of the wretched state of affairs in Northern India where Hindu-Muslim riots were going on as if they were the order of the day, the central party at last was able to assert itself at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and declared for a suspension of the Congress resolution asking the country to boycott the Councils. This was the first open defeat of the No-changers after Gaya, and the first overt triumph of the Dasites inside the Congress.

MR. MAHOMED ALI AT LAST

With the release of Moulana Mahomed Ali, after his 2 years' hard labour in jail, on the 29th August 1923 things began to look more hopeful. His release radiated a new hope in the country. Next to Mahatma Gandhi there was no other popular leader as demonstrative and as transparently a non-co-operator as the great Muslim. To him, the greatest quarreller in India, all the other quarrellers who had managed by their inter-necine quarrels to shake the foundations of the great N-C-O Congress of Ahmedabad, now turned their eyes. The Congress leaders had their quarrels amongst themselves. Mahomed Ali had only one quarrel in his life—his eternal quarrel with the Government. He was looked to for leadership by the No-changers. The Centre Party looked to him for

absolute support; and the Swarajists were sure of not meeting any opposition from him. A special session of the Congress was decided upon at the Bombay meeting of the Congress Committee. On the 15th September 1923 the Special Congress was held in Delhi. It was presided over by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad but was wholly dominated by the personality of Mahomed Ali. His heroic gesture of having received a wireless message from Yerrowada (the great jail where Mahatma Gandhi was kept in confinement) was a diplomatic stroke of the highest order. At once it silenced the No-changers, and the ratification of the Bombay resolution raising the Congress ban on Councils was then a merry walk-over to the Swarajists. Mr. Mahomed Ali recognised that in the face of such a determined attitude on the part of the Das-Nehru party with gradually swelling ranks, the only statesman-like policy was to permit the Swarajists to go their own way to wreck the Councils as they professed, without any hindrance from the Congress. The Delhi resolution thus permitted those who had neither religious nor conscientious objection to both to vote for and to seek election at the Councils, and thus practically overturned the Gaya decision.

THE ELECTIONS

Then came the elections, and the whole country was kept for the next two months in merry excitement over the election campaigns. The Swarajists gained almost everywhere sweeping victories, and they fought with the name of the Congress on their lips. Great moderates like Sir Surendranath Banerji in Bengal, Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer in Madras, Mr. Paranjpye in Bombay were thoroughly beaten at the polls. In some provinces the Swarajists were in absolute majority; other seats were captured by the Independents, the central party in Indian politics, while the old Moderates as a party suffered so great a defeat as to threaten its existence, moribund though it was, for all time to come.

We give below the main land-marks in the history of the Congress during the year.

- 26 Dec. '22 Gaya Congress. Deshbandhu Das's Presidential Address. Jamait ul-Millat says Council entry against the Shariat.
- 28 Dec. '22 Congress Subjects Committee accepts Sgt. Rajagopalachari's proposition opposing Council entry. Congress rejects Subjects Committee's resolution re. Boycott of British Goods
- 31 Dec. '22 In open Congress Sgt. Rajagopalachari's resolution declared carried. Congress repudiated future loans to be raised by Government of India. Civil Disobedience Resolution passed.
- 1 Jan. '23 Mr. Das submits resignation of A. I. C. O. Presidentship. Manifesto of the new Swarajya Party issued.
- 27 Jan. '23 Bombay meeting of Das party. Moulana Azad's efforts at Compromise fails.
- 1 Feb. '23 Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay. Moulana Azad's terms for Compromise proposed.
- 14 Feb. '23 Swaraj Party meeting at Allahabad. Scheme outlined.

- 26 Feb. '23 Working Committee and A. I. C. C. meetings at Allahabad. Terms of the Truce.
- 18 Mar. '23 Gandhi Day. All-India Hartal. Beginning of Flag Struggle.
- 1 April '23 Flag Struggle in Nagpur. Riots in Amritsar.
- 16 April '23 Sunderlaji sentenced. Ban on Flag processions in Nagpur. Leaders' meeting at Lahore to restore Hindu-Muslim Unity.
- 1 May '23 Nagpur Satyagraha begins. Sec. 144 order disobeyed. Arrests of batches of Satyagrahis. Further riots in the Punjab.
- 23 May '23 Working Committee meeting at Bombay. Special Session of Congress proposal accented.
- 25 May '23 A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay. Special Session motion rejected. Working Committee resigns. CENTRE PARTY leaders take up office. Extension of time for the fulfilment of Gaya programme till the end of July.
- 1 June '23 Mr. Das's tour in Madras Presidency. Sjt. Rajagopalchari's propaganda against A. I. C. C. decision.
- 8 July '23 Working Committee meeting at Nagpur suggest resolutions deploring the attitude of P. C. C.s opposed to Compromise and supporting Special Session.
- 9 July '23 Special Session resolution carried by the Working Committee.
- 10 July '23 Seth Jammal Bajaj sentenced. Debate on Mahatma's release in the Assembly. Requisition for another A. I. C. C. meeting.
- 3 Aug. '23 A. I. C. C. meeting at Vizaganatam. Nagpur resolution on holding Special Session confirmed. Delhi offers to arrange for Special Congress.
- 15 Aug. '23 Tala Lajpat Rai released. 18 Aug. '23 Arrests cease at Nagpur.
- 25 Aug. '23 Hindu-Muslim Riots at Saharanpur.
- 29 AUG. '23 MOULANA MAHOMED ALI FREE FROM JAIL.
- 10 Sept. '23 Informal Conferences of Leaders at Delhi for Compromise.
- 11 Sept. '23 Question of restoring Hindu-Muslim Unity discussed.
- 12 Sept. '23 Working Committee meeting at Delhi consider situation.
- 15 SEPT. '23 SPECIAL CONGRESS SESSION OPENS. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's address advocates closing up of the ranks.
- 16 Sept. '23 Compromise resolution lifting the ban on Council entry, moved by Maulana Mahomed Ali, approved by the Congress.
- 17 Sept. '23 Resolutions on boycott of British Goods and on Committee to organise Civil Disobedience passed.
- 22 Sept. '23 Swaraj Party busy with election campaign.
- 16 Oct. '23 Swaraj Party Campaign-Manifesto issued.
- 26 Oct. '23 Maulana Shaikat Ali released.
- NOVEMBER—ELECTIONS IN THE PROVINCES.
- 6 Nov. '23 Hindu-Muslim trouble again at Nagpur.
- 13 Nov. '23 Working Committee meeting at Amritsar. Akali situation discussed by Leaders. Swarajist successes in Bombay.
- 25 Nov. '23 Working Committee meeting at Ahmedabad.
- 26 Nov. '23 Madras Council first meeting. Swarajist's No-Confidence motion on Ministers defeated.
- 30 Nov. '23 Sir Surendra N Banerji defeated at the Polls by Mr. Das' party.
- 11 Dec. '23 Lord Lytton's offer to Mr. Das to form Bengal Ministry.
- 16th.—Bengal Pact controversy. Mr. C. R. Das' manifesto on the attitude of the party.
- 16 Dec. '23 Mr. Das refuses Lord Lytton's offer.
- 25 DEC. TO 1 JAN.—CONGRESS WEEK AT CANADA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF The Indian National Congress

COCANADA—23TH DECEMBER 1923.

Welcome Address.

In welcoming the Congress, the Delegates and Visitors, to Cocanada Mr. Konda Venkatapayya Goru, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following Address.

MAUJANA MAHOMED ALI SAHEB, BROTHERS AND SISTERS.—

The pleasant duty of offering welcome to you on behalf of the Andhra Desha has been entrusted to me and I do so most heartily. This is a day unique in the history of the province, as it gives to its people the opportunity for the first time to offer most cordial welcome to you who are engaged in the great fight for the freedom of our motherland.

A HISTORIC RACE

The Andhras are an historic race who at first ruled over the territory lying between the rivers of Godavari and Krishna and extending to the sea: on either side, with Dhanvakataka as the capital. About 300 B. C. they expanded their kingdom to Northern India and held Imperial throne there for nearly 400 years having Patna (Pataliputra) for their seat of Government. They had also founded on the banks of the Krishna near Dhanyakataka the great University of Amraoti which was equalled only by the universities of Nalanda and Takshasila in Northern India. Their renowned architecture of the Buddhist stupa of the Amaravati attracted the attention of the British Government which has since removed the most valuable relics of that artistic structure for exhibition in the great museum of London. In the days of Moghul Empire the Andhras established the dynasty of Vizianagaram and successfully resisted for several centuries the inroads of the neighbouring powers preserving their ancient civilisation of Southern India intact. After this part of the country came under the British the individuality of the Andhras became obscured by being indiscriminately mixed up with the communities speaking other languages by a Government unmindful of the progress of the people under its rule. But during the days of agitation against the Partition of Bengal the consciousness of the Andhras was roused under the influence of the great National movement and they endeavoured to reassert their individuality by starting the Andhra movement. They advocated

the redistribution of the provinces in India on linguistic basis as essential for the development of individuality of the races living in different provinces and also for the solidarity of the Indian Nation. They had sought for the recognition of that principle by the Congress praying that the Andhra districts might be constituted into a separate province. The help rendered by Lok. Tilak in this connection will always be remembered with feelings of gratitude.

As the result of those endeavours the Congress at its Session in Calcutta in 1917 constituted the area peopled by the Andhras as a separate unit for Congress purpose but it was only left to Mahatma Gandhi at the very inception of the N.C.O. movement to recognise the principle of readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis as an essential requisite for the full development of National consciousness and to effect that readjustment as the first step for the attainment of Swaraj. This measure has helped to strengthen the Provincial units and also promote unity after fostering a strong sentiment of common nationality among them. It is this measure that has vouchsafed to us this opportunity to invite the Congress here and extend our cordial welcome to our brothers and sisters from the various provinces.

THE GREATNESS OF GODAVARI

The district of Godavari is one of the most leading districts in the Andhra province. The river Godavari flows through this district, constituting it one of the most fertile tracts in Southern India. Not far from here is the town of Rajahmundry where Raja Narendra the most reputed of the eastern Chalukya kings was ruling over this part of the country. It was to this king that the Andhra poet Nannya Bhattaraka dedicated the Mahabharata, the most famous work in the Andhra literature. There, after a galaxy of heroes, poets and men learned in Vedas and Shastras have kept up its reputation for culture and influence.

Amongst the writers of Modern times mention must be made of Kandukuri Veerasalingam Pantulu, a citizen of Rajahmundry. He was a great social reformer, renowned author and journalist whose services to the cause of Telugu literature are by no means inconsiderable, and to whose life and writings we owe the beginnings of public life in Andhradesa. Even to-day this district holds its own place in education, wealth and culture. It is but fitting that the Congress should hold its session in this district and in this city which is undoubtedly one of the finest in the whole of Andhra Desa. It is the people of this district and of this city that have had the largest share of responsibility for holding the Congress here. While acknowledging our difficulties in providing for comforts and conveniences, we assure you that we shall not lack behind any other province in according the warmest and most cordial welcome to you all. I hope that in the largeness of your hearts you will not mind the many shortcomings that will be found in the arrangements for your reception.

MAHATMAJI'S ABSENCE.

In this vast Assembly every one feels deeply the absence of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, who for the freedom of our land toiled night and day after starting the movement of Non-violent Non-co-operation. That at this moment he should be in the Yeravada jail is a sad comment on the weakness of the Nation's firmness and integrity on which he had so much relied.

In the year 1921 most of the leaders of the land, placing great faith in the movement, went forward to co-operate with him and worked with single-hearted devotion. But it must be acknowledged that the failure to attain Swaraj within one year, as Mahatmaji with assurance born of his faith in the people had declared, was not to any intrinsic defect in the principle or programme of Non-co-operation but to the want of strength in us to rise equal to the occasion.

With the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi the movement began to flag and differences and dissensions broke out within the ranks of the Congress. Some were for entering into the Councils and wrecking them by adopting a policy of obstruction, while others opposed the same insisting on carrying on the movement as before and preparing the country for Civil Disobedience. Two years of our precious time were thus wasted till at Delhi a rapprochement was made by allowing those that had no objection to enter the Councils to do so. The Congress at Delhi has further reaffirmed its faith in the principle of non-violent Non-co-operation and called upon the country to concentrate all its energies in carrying out the constructive programme. But the elections have made it impossible to attend to the constructive work. There has been no progress made in that direction. Now that the elections are over in every part of the country, discussion has again been started regarding the future work of the Congress. Some Swarajists, satisfied with even the limited measure of success they have achieved, indicate their desire to seek a mandate from the Congress as to their work in the Councils, while the No-Changeers being dissatisfied with the actions of some of the Swarajists which contravene the fundamental principles of Non-co-operation feel it necessary to have the principles as well as the programme of the N-C-O reaffirmed by this Congress. At Delhi the special Congress having merely lifted the ban on Council entry in respect of those who felt no conscientious objection to enter into the Councils, any violation of the principles of the N-C-O is unwarranted and it is regrettable that some people should have taken shelter under that resolution to infringe the same.

NON-CO-OPERATION—THE ONLY POLICY

We had till now accepted the Non-violent N-C-O as the only means of securing Swaraj and acted upon it. I believe that it will be admitted by all that it will be a mistake to abandon the movement for the mere reason that we have failed to achieve the

measure of success which we had expected. Some think that the amendment of the programme is essential, while others are of opinion that we should rigorously carry on that programme as hitherto adopted. And this conflict of views seriously handicaps the work of the Congress. Now that the question of Council entry has been disposed of and the elections also finished there should be no difficulty for both parties to unite and carry on the constructive programme. Those that have entered the Councils will determine among themselves the programme of work they should adopt inside the Councils. It seems undesirable to reopen the question of Councils in any form as it is likely to lead to recrudescence of dissensions which we had striven to put an end to at Delhi with the result of paralysing the future work of the Congress.

THE TRIPLE BOYCOTT

Again, there is the question of triple boycott which some would like to re-affirm and seek to reinforce. There are others who wish to alter it and some others who advocate its total abandonment. Those latter deem it undesirable to continue a programme which has been found unworkable in practice. It is true that it has not evoked universal enthusiasm amongst the people. But the examples of those who have followed the decision of the Congress in this respect, though fewer than expected, are so noble and striking that they are in themselves sufficient to inspire the people with the spirit of sacrifice and keep alive the movement.

Like our illustrious leaders Pandit Motilal and Balabandhu Das, there were many in humbler positions in different parts of the country who had in 1921 renounced their prospects and professions and dedicated their services to the cause of the country. I believe there are many even now who still have not gone back to their professions but are ready to work as sincerely as before. Even if a few men intensely devoted to the cause, keep the flag flying, they will be a power in the land which will give fresh vigour and life to the movement making it possible for some day to attain Swaraj.

To abandon the triple boycott is to abandon the movement. Nor does the reason for its abandonment, namely, that there has not been adequate response from the people, appear sound. The efforts of some thousands in this vast land of 30 crores of people for a period of but one year shook the foundation of the British Government and it is impossible to forget the results of that fight. Many had given up their colleges which earned for them their living, many left schools, many entered jails suffering hard privations, much money was spent and many losses were incurred in the heat of that struggle. The very idea of abandonment is unthinkable when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail. His message has gone round the world. Great men in other lands have proclaimed that the movement of N-C-O started by him has shown a new way for the regeneration of mankind. Even among the

the Western races who for the sake of power and dominion do not hesitate to abuse the highest discoveries of science to shed the blood of their fellow beings, this movement has infused the spirit of non-violence and prompted them to some extent to employ the programme of N-C-O.

AKALI SATYAGRAHA

Again, nearer home, the Akali brothers, who though belonging to a warlike race and soldiers by profession, have already demonstrated, I suppose to the satisfaction even of our moderate friends, the practical application of non-violence as a political weapon. They are at this moment engaged in a struggle of similar nature but of a much larger scale with the Government for the purpose of vindicating their rights. With these facts before us, can it be said that the movement of N-C-O is dead as is the habit with our opponents to-day tunes out of number? In the Government of India report published in the beginning of 1922 Mr. Rushbrook Williams stated that this movement was dead and the time had arrived for writing an epitaph on its grave. It has been the studied attempt of the Government to create an impression on the mind of the people that they were heedless of its strength while at the same time anxiously planning in their secret chambers the ways of suppressing it. There has undoubtedly been a lull in the movement but such stages of depression are temporary and incidental to all movements of such magnitude. If the leaders are prepared to lead, placing real confidence in the movement, there would be no lack of following in the country.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

For successfully carrying out the Constructive Programme it is obviously necessary that both parties should unite and work hand in hand. Such of the Swarajists as have entered the Councils should devote at least some of their time for the Congress without allowing themselves to be wholly absorbed in Council work. Differences of views between the two parties whatever they may be should not be allowed to interfere with the constructive programme. It is the basis of all effective action under the aegis of the Congress. Both parties with mutual good will and harmony should co-operate and inspire the people with greater zeal for the cause of the country even as they had done in the year 1921 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Though it must be recognised that there is no leader who can approach in his capacity to inspire and influence the hearts of the people, still there are in the country great persons who by virtue of their attainments and personal sacrifice in the cause of freedom can undoubtedly command the confidence of the public. If they but stand firmly united and call upon the country to work the programme, I have no doubt there will be a response worthy of the cause which is so dear to us all.

Some are of opinion that in order to create in the people a

lively interest in the work of the Congress there must be something stimulating in its programme, but really speaking there can be nothing more potent than the desire for Swarajya to stimulate them for action provided that such desire is sufficiently strong and impelling. It must be admitted that desire for Swaraj is now universally cherished in the country. Whatever might have been the attitude of the different political parties in the land till now, at this moment all are united in the demand for immediate Swaraj.

INDIA' STATUS IN THE WORLD

Besides, India has no recognised place amongst the civilised nations of the world. Indians are not allowed to live in foreign countries except as coolies to be exploited for the benefit of the Whitemen; even the British Government have failed to redress the wrongs done to our brethren in Kenya and other countries directly under their charge. The Kenya decision has branded the Indian as slaves, declaring it impossible for them to attain a status of equality with the Whites. The strenuous endeavours of the leaders of the Moderate party to get the decision revised have proved futile and the speeches of the Dominion Ministers make it absolutely clear that Indians so long as they continue as a subject race must remain inferior to the Whitemen. The bureaucracy in India has now thrown off its mask absolutely unmindful of the people and, in utter disregard of the views and representations both of Moderates and Nationalists, is carrying on its administration in a manner which makes it increasingly oppressive and unbearable. When the Government is openly and fearlessly attacked, they turn round and threaten that they would withdraw the Reform. Such an action on the part of the Government would no doubt be a consummation devoutly to be wished for. It is these reforms which have removed from our ranks men with whom we had worked together ever since the Congress began its activities. Equality is possible only between parties enjoying equal freedom and unless and until we secure freedom neither we nor our brethren abroad can find remedies for the wrongs done to us. Whatever view we may take of the present situation it is manifest that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the panacea for all evils and that Swaraj can only be attained by vigorous and persistent action on the part of the people born of passionate desire for national self-realisation. Such desire cannot always be fed by an existing programme. A cool and deliberate resolve to achieve Swaraj in spite of all obstacles is a surer guarantee of our success in this struggle for freedom.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The one problem which we have to face at the very outset of our endeavours in carrying out the constructive programme is the question of Hindu-Muslim unity which has of late assumed a very serious aspect, particularly in some of the provinces in Northern

India. In the name of religion most atrocious deeds were committed forgetting the truth that the brotherhood of man is the highest of all religions. Hindu-Muslim feuds generally arise out of disregard on the part of the people of one community to the religious sentiments and customs of the other. In some places it appears that economic reasons have also led to misunderstandings which developed into serious disturbance later. It therefore becomes the first duty of the All-India leaders to consult with men of local influence and concert measure to remove those causes and restore harmony amongst the two communities. In this connection grateful mention has to be made of the successful endeavours by Dr. Syed Mahmud and his friends to make up difference and restore friendly relations between Hindus and Mussalmans at Ajmere.

It is no doubt true that we ought to impress upon the people the idea that we are all Indians first before we are Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and so on. To create such an impression the leaders of either community should closely associate themselves with their respective communities taking active part in the institutions belonging to them. Even as the Muslim leaders are taking active interest in the Khilafat and Ulema movements, the Hindu leaders in the Congress should likewise take part in the transaction of the Hindu Maha-Sabha and other organisations pertaining to the Hindu community. The mistake committed by the people should be pointed out by their own leaders insisting upon the duty of respecting the rights (both civic and religious) of their countrymen in other communities. It is hoped that the useful suggestions made by the committee appointed by the Congress for drafting the Indian National Pact will be adopted after due deliberations by this Assembly with such modifications as may be found necessary. Success in this direction will be set as much in the enunciation of the principles of action as in the genuine and vigorous endeavours to enforce these principles. Hence too much of emphasis cannot be laid on the necessity of the leaders concentrating all their energies on this problem even if it should require that every other item in the constructive programme should be set aside for a time. For freedom of India is impossible without the establishment of perfect harmony and goodwill between the various communities that inhabit the same.

VALUE OF A COMMON LANGUAGE.

It has been well-nigh agreed by all people that there should be a common language for promoting easy intercourse between the people living in the various provinces of the country and for strengthening the national unity. It is also recognised that no language other than Hindi is suited for the purpose. Hence it follows that the work of the Congress should be transacted in that language. Hence it becomes obvious that the people in provinces where Hindi is not known should learn that language in order to mix more intimately with the people of other provinces and to under-

stand and take part in the deliberations of the Congress. Among other items of the constructive programme, Khaddar and the removal of untouchability demand our closest attention.

KHADDAR PROGRAMME

It will be recognised that the programme of Khaddar is the easiest to achieve and yet it is surprising that we have not made the progress which we ought to have achieved. The slackness is to be accounted for mostly by sheer indifference on the part of the people and also by the dullness in the movement itself. The three things that ought to be noted as essential for the spread of Khaddar in the country are: (1) that every ryot should make it his duty to grow cotton in his land at least to the requirements of his family, (2) that the head of every house-hold should provide in each harvest season the cotton required for it, and (3) that every family should set up one or more charkhas and spin the yarn required for its use. If these conditions are fulfilled, the question of foreign competition can in no way arise and the people will never be affected by the rise or fall of prices in the cloth market. Even for those who like to dress themselves in fine Khaddar, the country will in course of time be able to satisfy their taste if they but persist in spinning yarn systematically. Proceeding on these lines India will ere long be able to completely clothe herself in Khaddar—an achievement which in itself will bring us nearest to Swaraj. If there are people in this country who still lack faith in Khaddar, let them recall to their mind that picture of that Hermit of Sabarmati clad in loin cloth and giving his Message to the country on the eve of his entry into jail.

THE CAUSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The problem of untouchability also requires special attention particularly in Southern India where the customs and beliefs of the people are a great obstacle to its progress. It is not easy to make any advance in this direction unless the country realises the injustice of the treatment now accorded to our Panchama brethren. The movement of Non-co-operation is also a spiritual movement and the unjust and unequal treatment of our fellow countrymen prove the hollowness of our professions as Non-co-operators.

The whole programme of the Congress should be worked out by the Congress Committee in different parts of the country but as most of the committees exist merely in name, their reorganisation should be undertaken forthwith. The Congress work has been seriously handicapped for want of adequate help and encouragement to the workers. As the village committees are the real foundations of Swaraj, no time should be lost in enlisting members to the Congress in the villages and forming Congress committees, if not in every village, at least in all important rural centres. In India more

people live in villages than in towns and therefore political education must spread in the rural areas and the message of the Congress should be carried to every nook and corner of the country. The progress of the Indian nation depends upon the progress of the people in the villages. Their desires and ambitions will shape the destiny of the nation. Therefore some of our best Congress workers must settle themselves in some village centres to spread the idea of non-co-operation and non-violence and to organise the work of the Congress. No permanent results can be achieved unless the work is systematised through organisations widely spread out throughout the country, as much in the village as in towns. When the village Congress committees became living centres influencing the thoughts of the people, and inspiring them to action, the day will not be far off when the great wave of national movement will sweep into it even the people in the towns and cities, spell-bound as they are by the glamour of Western ideas and civilisation.

STRUGGLE DESTINED TO BE LONG

It has now become plain that the struggle for Swaraj is destined to be long and arduous, and that men and money, on a scale much larger than hitherto, will have to be found for carrying it on. Permanent arrangements have to be made in villages for the collection of Swaraj fund in such a manner that the financial burden may as far as possible be evenly distributed amongst the people.

The work of the Congress must be as regular and systematised as that of the Government, and men competent to carry it on must be appointed by the Congress. Some of them will be all-India workers entrusted with duties pertaining generally to all India, while others will be placed in the provinces to look after the Congress work in them. Such of these as require pecuniary help must be provided with the same as it is unreasonable to expect gratuitous work on a large scale for an indefinite length of time. It will not be difficult I suppose to find really genuine and competent workers who may be trusted with such duties, provided we supply them with the necessary minimum of their requirements. The responsibility of selecting suitable men for those duties and finding the money necessary for them shall lie with the Working Committee of the A. I. C. Committee. As the Congress work in the provinces has gone very much out of joint at the present moment, the first duty of the Working Committee should be to organise this service and finance them. The Working Committee shall also give instructions to the various provincial committees to regulate the work in their districts, finding suitable men and the money required for the purpose. It is also highly desirable that the whole work of the Congress should be divided into various departments and each of them should be placed in charge of one of the members of the Executive Committee. After all, the progress of the work depends upon the spirit and enthusiasm which the leaders can infuse in the people by their strenuous endeavours.

OUR PRESIDENT.

We are specially fortunate in having Maulana Mohamed Ali Sahab as the president of this session. As it is too well known, he is one of the greatest patriots who, along with his illustrious brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali, has strenuously been labouring for the cause of the motherland. As editor of the 'Comrade' he attacked the Government fearlessly opposing their policy of repression and arbitrary methods of administration and suffered long on that account at its hands. His work in the cause of non-co-operation, as one of the most trusted of the lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi, and that of his Big brother, gave such impetus to the movement that the Government deemed it necessary to remove them from the field by incarcerating them once more. His release from the jail was hailed with great joy and expectation by the country. He has once more taken on hand the work of the Congress, addressing himself first to the restoration of peace and harmony both in the ranks of the Congress and the country at large. Both himself and his Big brother have been since their release travelling far and wide in the country carrying the message of peace by emphasising the need for absolute good will between the two great communities, the Muslim and the Hindu. It is said that no great problem awaits the consideration of the Congress and hence this session serves no special object. But if under his able guidance a solution for the Hindu-Muslim question, which had made the Congress work impossible in several parts of the country and has been causing great anxiety to all those interested in National advancement, is found, we shall have achieved a great purpose, establishing unity between the two greatest communities in India and ensuring the uninterrupted furtherance of the cause in the future.

We cannot forget the services of that most revered grand old lady known throughout the country as Bi-Amman. In spite of her age she has gone round the country carrying the message of non-violent non-co-operation and inspiring the people by her personality with the true spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. Her extraordinary act of relinquishment of the purdah is an event worthy of recording in the annals of Non-co-operation as illustrative of the highest sentiments of patriotism and self-renunciation. A worthy son of such a worthy mother will now preside over the deliberations of this vast National Assembly. His message will instil new life and vigour into action with a reinforced enthusiasm justifying the expectations raised by us when Mahatma Gandhi was moving and working in our midst.

I do not propose to detain you any further. I once more offer the warmest and the most hearty welcome to you all and request Maulana Mohamed Ali Sahib to take the Chair,

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF
The Indian National Congress

COCANADA—28TH DECEMBER 1923.

Presidential Address.

Maulana Mahomed Ali delivered the following Presidential Address.*

Friends and Fellow workers.

It has been the custom for every occupant of the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress to thank the delegates that have conferred on him the highest honour it is in the power of the Indian nation to confer on an Indian. It has also been customary for him to disclaim that his merits deserved such signal honour and to declare his unfitness to rank with those that have previously occupied the Presidential chair. I have no doubt that the innate modesty of my predecessors infused into these disclaimers and declarations a sincerity that saved them from the banality of mere conventions. But it is no such modesty that makes me further state them by repetition. When two years ago, just on the eve of my imprisonment, a few of the Provinces had honoured me also with their nominations, I was still in a position to withdraw my name and to give at least partial expression to the shock of surprise I felt on that occasion. This time, however, fate had taken the matter almost entirely out of my hands; for, soon after I was discharged from prison, I received from the Reception Committee here the telegraphic message that in a few days it would meet to put the seal of its agreement on the choice of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Believe me, if the circumstances that had led to the Special Session at Delhi, and, still more, if that session itself had not revealed to me conditions that made the withdrawal of my name something in the nature of desertion, I would have withdrawn it even at that late stage. I consider it a presumption to preside here, and one reason for my reluctance and hesitation must be obvious to all. It must be remembered that my association with the Indian National Congress is of very recent date. It was only in 1919 that for the first time I attended the Congress as a delegate, and then, too, my participation was not in the ordinary course. As some of you may remember, my brother and I had just been released from confinement as State Prisoners in the Betul gaol in which our internment during the last four years of the War had culminated. We, of course, proceeded straight to the Congress that had already commenced its session in martyred Amritsar, and since we could not have been elected as delegates in the usual way, the good people of Amritsar had forthwith adopted us as their own. The Nagpur Session that was held in the following year was the first and, as it happened, also the only one previous to this which my brother and I attended as delegates elected in the ordinary course. Those who had hitherto occupied the Presidential chair had been veterans that had grown grey in the service of the Congress. Can it, therefore, be merely conventional if one who i

* Parts of this address which are of a personal nature or less important are printed in smaller type.

after all among the babes and sucklings of the Congress thanks you for such an unusual mark of your favour?

The only consideration which could justify this favour was that, although my association with the Congress was recent, it was coupled with my association with one of the very greatest, if also one of the latest Congress-men, for whom all eyes search in vain in this Pandal to-day. Ever since I first attended a session of the Congress as a delegate in 1919, his had been the one dominating personality. More than ever we need our great chief, Mahatma Gandhi, to-day; and if God that willed that in his place one of his humblest followers, though not the least loving among them, should assist you in your deliberations, I can only feel what the Arab poet felt when he wistfully wrote:

"The death of great ones made us great!"

But although the man who was most responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration hoped that by 'burying him alive' as he called it, he would kill the spirit that the Mahatma had infused into the nation, I feel certain that it lives just as surely as the Mahatma lives himself. Relying on God's assistance, and on your own kind indulgence, which, I think, I may with confidence bespeak, I invoke that spirit to-day in the hope that with its aid I may prove not altogether unworthy of the high office to which your suffrage has all too generously called me.

Friends, the only one who can lead you is the one who had led you at Amritsar, at Calcutta, at Nagpur and at Ahmedabad, though each session of the Congress had its own elected President. Our generalissimo is to-day a prisoner of war in the hands of the enemy, and none can fill the void that his absence from our midst has caused. As for myself, I am but a comrade whom your loving kindness has called out from the ranks, and I plead for its continuance not only during the discussions of this session, but also throughout the year in which I am required by your constitution to assist you as your President.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

On one point, however, you too are entitled to an assurance from me, and I offer it to you without hesitation. I have been a fighter all my life, and, of course I have been in the habit of throwing all the vehemence of an impulsive and impetuous nature into my fights. But your choice of me as your President has robbed me of my freedom, and to regain that freedom, if for nothing else, I would have willingly foregone the great privilege of presiding on this occasion. However, in the cast you have assigned to me, the unfamiliar role of the peace-maker, and even a fighter like me has to confess that if anything is better than a fight it is peace—I have, therefore, deprived myself of the opportunity to fight in order to help the cause of peace and unity, and I do not regret the surrender. As your President, I am here to serve you to the best of my power, and not in the capacity of a slave-driver, and if, in following the convention of political societies like yours, I have to inaugurate this session with an address, it is essentially in the spirit of a servant of yours that I do so, and not as a dictator. I am here to assist you

to form judgments on the various issues that may come up for your decision, and, so far as it lies in the power of a fellow-worker and comrade of yours, I hope to help you to form only sound judgments, and to form them without waste of time, temper and energy. But these judgments must be yours, not mine; or, if you will, ours collectively in the truest sense. I have referred to the Mahatma's dominating personality, and we must admit how difficult it was to shake off his spell even for those rare individuals that desired to do so. I feel certain that Mahatma Gandhi neither asked nor wanted anyone to surrender his judgment to him; and I have been told that just before his arrest he regretfully realised that quite a number of his followers and admirers, who had readily, and in all sincerity, signified their agreement with him, had failed to realize that they were offering their allegiance only to the man and were not accepting his measures as well on the strength of their own clear conviction. It will be an impertinence for me even to disclaim any such influence as the Mahatma undoubtedly exercised over the people, and I am anxious that every vote cast on any side should be the result of the voter's own deliberate judgment, carrying with it the fullest individual responsibility. As for myself, if I kept back from you my own view of any matter of vital importance, merely for fear that it might not be acceptable to you, I shall certainly not be serving you truly. For another thing, it would not be consistent with true democracy. But we shall only be making a mockery of democracy if freedom was denied to the delegates of the Congress merely to please its President, or silence was imposed on the many just to secure the good-will of the few.

CONGRESS SESSION NOT DIVISION LOBBY.

Nevertheless, we have to understand that the country did not elect six thousand delegates, and we have not travelled to Cocanada from every corner of it as to division lobbies, merely to cast our votes and to register our individual judgments already formed before we set out on our journey. What good could we do to ourselves and to others if, like Omar, the Tent-Maker Poet of Persia, we 'evermore came out by the same door wherein we went'? If we do not wish to turn our journey into utter futility and so much labour lost, the opinions we had formed, individually or in groups, before we started, must be tested here by comparison with the opinions of our fellow-delegates and influenced by them. And it is no shame, but on the contrary very often much to our credit, if we change our views in deference to the judgments of others whom we credit with greater sagacity or experience, or to the cumulative weight of the judgment of a large majority of people, although they be in no way superior to us as individuals, even though at the time itself we are not fully convinced that our own views are wrong. I am second to no man in my respect for deeply cherished convictions. But convictions are not on every occasion to be treated as matters of conscience, and I have the support here of Cromwell, one of the

most conscientious statesmen known to history, who used to implore his fellow-workers to remember that it was possible they might be mistaken.

PLEA FOR SELF-RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION.

Every delegate has the right to give expression to his views with perfect freedom, and to do so on as many questions as he likes. He has also the right to move as many resolutions as he pleases; to move amendments to as many resolutions proposed by others as he thinks fit; and to divide the house as frequently as he chooses. But no real work is possible if such rights are exercised without proper consideration for the opinion and convenience of others, and particularly without regard for the best interests of a distressed and distracted nation. Our great chief had often to deplore that the enthusiasm of our people in their assemblages lacked self-restraint and discipline, and, in truth, it was their innate peace-loving nature and their good humour that so often proved their saving grace. Self-restraint and discipline can be taught to the masses only by such leaders as the Congress delegates, and the self-restraint and discipline of the delegates themselves is the best guarantee of the self-restraint and discipline of the masses. Above all, I trust that in giving expression to our views, no matter how strong, we shall avoid such partisanship as feeds on malice and revels in violent recriminations. Our great chief is noted throughout the world for his gospel of Non-Violence, and it would be a sad commentary on our allegiance to one who would not tolerate violence in thought or word towards an enemy if we excluded from our boasted Non-Violence our best friends. I would not for the world change popular enthusiasm into quietism or indifference. We need discipline, not death. We must have necessary steam to propel the national machinery; but it must be under control. Closely allied to this is the principle of compromise and accommodation. Ours is nothing if not a war of principles, and we cannot afford to forsake principles even for the sake of peace. But short of that we are being called upon by the state of our nation to-day to make every sacrifice in order to accommodate those who are as staunch nationalists as ourselves, but who do not always see eye to eye with us. It is our particular distinction that our great chief has spiritualized politics and we can no longer be content with a politics that is completely divorced from ethics. But in politics we may not always be able to secure the best. Life is one long second best, and there should be no bar against the second best if, by being content with it for the time being, we can carry large sections of the nation with us on the road to victory. Above all, let us not think of winning party victories when we have still to win the great victory of freedom against slavery, and of justice against a whole nation's wrongs. Forgive me,

THE MUSALMANS AND THE CONGRESS

THE EFFECT OF THE MUTINY ON THE MUSALMANS

I have referred to the fact that my association with the Congress is of very recent date; but this admission is not merely personal. It involves the political history of the community to which I belong, and if I give a brief outline of it to you, it is only for the purpose of elucidating a problem which is the most vital of all the problems we have to solve to-day. When, in 1885, some Indian leaders, assisted by their British sympathisers, founded the Indian National Congress, the Musalmans of India did not participate in the movement except in a few individual cases. If their lack of Western education made them unfit to take part in a movement essentially that of the classes educated according to Western notions, their political temper made them an element that was not unlikely to prove dangerous to any political movement. They had already lost the rule of India, but the tradition of that rule had survived. This had increased the aversion they had always felt for the new type of education. The rule of India had finally passed from Muslim into English hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the hundred years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny, but the Musalmans had not ceased to regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilisation and culture. This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering force for a whole century, and was at last precipitated in 1857. The Mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the Indian army, but in the storm-centre of Delhi and of my own Province, where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Musalmans had, at enormous risk to themselves, assisted the British at a time when hardly anyone could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in those parts that suffered most from the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results, even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any great exaggeration, be compared to the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of all influence and of many of its possessions, certainly did not expect the return of Muslim rule. Nevertheless, a whole generation of Musalmans kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the regions which formed the political centre of Muslim India. It was a natural consequence of this attitude of Musalmans who sulked in their tents that when, nearly thirty years later, a new generation

of Indians, who owed their education to the English, inaugurated a political movement on Western lines, Indian Mussalmans should be unfit by lack of such education to participate in that movement. Nevertheless, the Congress which called itself "Indian" and "National" felt the need of Muslim participation, for it could not justify its title without it.

SYED AHMAD KHAN OPPOSES MUSLIM PARTICIPATION.

Efforts were therefore made early enough to enlist Musalmans as delegates. But at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western education among Musalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Musalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement. It is by no means a difficult task to criticise those speeches, for they contained many fallacies to which no politically-minded Musalman could subscribe to-day. But I am not one of those who declare, merely on the strength of some ill-advised expressions characteristic of so militant a controversialist as Syed Ahmad Khan, that he was opposed to the co-operation of Hindus and Musalmans.

THE TRUE NATURE AND MOTIVES OF THE OPPOSITION.

Although his own public career after retirement from Public Service was identified with a movement for the uplift of his own community, he was a good Indian as well as a good Muslim, and many of his speeches prove him to have been an ardent patriot inspired with the love of Indian unity. And those who knew him personally can testify to the staunchness of his friendship with many Hindus, which could not have survived the narrow prejudices of which he has sometimes been accused.

No more true is the charge that he was opposed to Muslim participation in politics for all time. Whatever arguments he may have used in the two political utterances to which I have referred, to convince his Muslim hearers there were two arguments, and two only, that obviously convinced Syed Ahmad Khan himself of the undesirability of Muslim participation in the Congress at the time. He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Musalmans of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. Musalmans must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy

ution of their own which, unlike Government colleges and schools, would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day, when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Muslims, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Musalmans.

Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a PERSONA GRATA to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the *BETE NOIRE* of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap-trap could have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

For two decades thereafter the Musalmans had hardly any politics or any political institution worth the name. On important occasions when Syed Ahmad Khan, and of course, his British supporters, thought that any demand of the Congress if satisfied would not be productive of good for the Musalmans, he would call together a few of his friends, mostly Trustees of the Aligarh College, who used to form a society bearing some such name as the "Muslim Defence Association," and a resolution of this body would be published in the *PIONEER* and in Syed Ahmad Khan's own local weekly newspaper in due course. That was all that the Musalmans would do in those days in the field of politics.

I am far from denying that Syed Ahmad Khan knew perfectly well that his policy was more than acceptable to his official supporters, who would have in all likelihood put every possible obstruction in the way of his college and his Educational Conference if he had followed another less acceptable to them. But a close study of his character leads me to declare that he was far from possessing the sycophancy with which some of his political critics have credited him. Indeed, even the opportunism of which his policy savoured could not have been entirely palatable to a nature so in-

dependent as his. In the year 1907, soon after the commencement of a new era in Muslim politics inaugurated by the foundation of the Muslim League, to which I shall presently refer, there occurred a strike of the students of Syed Ahmad Khan's College at Aligarh, owing to the support given against them by their own English Principal and Professors to the Police that had picked up a quarrel with one of them. Just about that time fell the anniversary of Syed Ahmad Khan's death celebrated annually in the College as the "Founder's Day." For that occasion I had written in Urdu an Ode addressed to the late Founder of my college, and referring to this unmistakable indication of the students' self-respect and of their willingness to make the necessary self-sacrifice demanded by the haughty disdain of the foreigner, I had said :

It is you that had taught the community all this "mischief"; if we are its culmination, you are its commencement.

"THE ARCH—REBEL."

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmad Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the Public Service, an old English official asked him who he thought was the greatest rebel in India against British rule. And, correcting my brother's answer, that experienced official had declared that it was no other than Syed Ahmad Khan, loyalist of loyalists! When my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said :

"Do you think young Mussalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services? No, Mr. Shaikat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the arch-rebel to-day!"

Like only too many of us, this British official too had failed to realise the paralysing effect of the education given in the colleges and schools established or favoured by this foreign Government, and had only foreseen the dissatisfaction and discontent that it must inevitably produce. With a Muslim University, chartered, aided and controlled by Government still flourishing at Aligarh, so far as the number of the teachers and the taught and a University Chest filled with the contributions of the rich are concerned, though robbed of all generous ideals and national and communal ambitions, and existing side by side with another, poor in everything save its ideals and its dreams, into which my old college had seemed to have transformed itself three years ago, I cannot boast that the "arch-rebel" of Aligarh has altogether succeeded in his "rebellious" endeavour. But it is my firm conviction that he had always aimed and intended to produce staunch Muslims and patriotic Indians even if he could not perhaps contemplate a near enough future for India in which

his "young barbarians all at play" could be other than "loyal British subjects."

ALIGARH AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Universities in the three Presidency towns of India—a period which corresponds with the growth of a new generation—the Congress had inevitably come into existence. It was no easy task that Syed Ahmad Khan had accomplished in founding an Anglo-Oriental College of his own community within two decades of the Indian Mutiny in the very regions which had formed the storm-centre in 1857. In obedience, as it were, to a law of nature, once more nearly thirty years after the foundation of this College, there came into being a political institution of the Musalmans who had not availed themselves of the educational facilities provided by the State Universities, and could not consequently share in the political awakening which those Universities had indirectly brought about. And it is not without significance that fairly prominent among the founders of the Muslim League at Dacca at the end of 1906 were some alumni of Syed Ahmad Khan's own College.

This inaugurated a new era in the political life of the Indian Musalmans. Some months previously a Muslim Deputation had waited at Simla on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to place before him and his Government a statement of the Muslim demands in connection with the Minto-Morley Reforms then foreshadowed. To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, "there is no harm now in saying" that the Deputation was a "command" performance! It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. Hitherto the Musalmans had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had "friends in the jury"! But now the Muslims' "friends in the jury" had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Musalmans had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation, and those who denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Musalmans had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequence, and not the cause, of the separation between Musalmans and their more numerous Hindu brethren.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES HASTEN INDIAN UNITY.

But little could the official supporters of the Muslim community have suspected at the time that, paradoxical as it may seem, the creation of separate electorates was hastening the advent of Hindu-

Muslim unity. For the first time a real franchise, however restricted, was being offered to Indians, and if Hindus and Muslims remained just as divided as they had hitherto been since the commencement of British rule, and often hostile to one another, mixed electorates would have provided the best battle-ground for inter-communal strifes, and would have still further widened the gulf separating the two communities. Each candidate for election would have appealed to his own community for votes, and would have based his claims for preference on the intensity of his ill-will towards the rival community, however disguised this may have been under some such formula as "the defence of his community's interests." Bad as this would have been, the results of an election in which the two communities were not equally matched would have been even worse, for the community that failed to get its representative elected would have inevitably borne a yet deeper grudge against its successful rival. Divided as the two communities were, there was no chance for any political principles coming into prominence during the elections. The creation of separate electorates did a great deal to put a stop to this inter-communal warfare, though I am far from oblivious of the fact that when inter-communal jealousies are acute, the men that are more likely to be returned even from communal electorates are just those who are noted for their ill-will towards the rival community.

"UNITED FAITHS OF INDIA."

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Muslims AS A COMMUNITY I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged councils of 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sect and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on the "Proposed Mahomedan University." "Unless some new force,"—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, OTHER THAN THE MISLEAD-

THE UNITY OF OPPOSITION unites this vast continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a Federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; and yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many a political Cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of "United Faiths of India." It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it "THE COMRADE—"comrade of all and partisan of none.

Friends, is it so entirely out of place if I quote a little from the first words that I had contributed to the first issue of the COMRADE? In view of the political controversy that had been raging in India, I naturally shrank from relating my dream when making my DEBUT before a sceptical, matter-of-fact world. And yet the dream was all the time there for those who did not despise dreams.

"We have no faith (I wrote on the 14th January, 1911) in the cry that India is united. If India was united where was the need of dragging the venerable President of this year's Congress from a distant home? The bare imagination of a feast will not dull the edge of hunger. We have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy a rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism.

"Even as poor birds deceiv'd with painted grapes

"Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw"

those of us who cannot distinguish true gold from the glitter of spurious coins, will one day surfeit by the ear and pine the heart. But the person we love best, fear the most, and trust the least is the impatient idealist. Goethe said of Byron that he was a prodigious poet, but that when he reflected he was a child. Well, we think no better and no worse of the man who combines great ideals and a greater impatience. So many efforts, well-meaning as well as ill-begotten, have failed in bringing unity to this distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiment for the grave of another ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of gumming together pieces of broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words, we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, howsoever ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the earnest and frank recognition of deep-seated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide.

But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Mussalmans or the Hindus attempt to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of one another, they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. But every step has to be taken with caution,

Nothing in history, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But it is still the best educative force for mankind, and it has its lessons for us also. The problems of India are almost international. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bileon, shall we despair of Indian nationality? We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a MARRIAGE DE CONVENANCE, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose and the Muses will not forbid the banners. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. O! Unity,

"Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation ;

"But not for us who watch to-day and burn.

"Thou wilt come ; but after what long years of trial,

"Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial !"

Friends, three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which I had dreamed, and if to-day we have to admit, as we must, that the dream has not been realised as fully as we wish, we shall have once more to examine the situation carefully and to face inconvenient facts with candour and with courage. I propose to do that presently, but not to break the thread of my narrative I revert to the situation as it existed at the time when I made my journalistic DEBUT.

MUSLIMS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

As I had foreseen, the separate electorates returned both Hindus and Mussalmans who were not averse to combine in the various legislatures to support the popular cause. Nevertheless, inter-communal hostility did not altogether cease in the country. A new element, was however, unexpectedly added to the situation by the aggression of Western nations against Muslim States and its effect on Muslim sentiment in India, and although there are not wanting to-day staunch non-Muslim nationalists who look askance at Indian Muslim feeling with regard to Muslim affairs abroad, a little reflection would show that the new element to which I have referred, even while undoubtedly diverting the attention of Indian Mussalmans to some extent from affairs at home, hastened Muslim disillusionment with regard to their traditional reliance on their foreign Government and thereby contributed greatly to Indian unity.

THE OUTLOOK IN 1911.

I had intended the COMRADE to be the organ that was to voice the sentiments I entertained regarding the need of an inter-communal federation for India. It was to prepare the Mussalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating one jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies, which as you must know, part of the quintessence of Islam. When I first

thought of launching on a career of journalism I did not expect that any but a small fraction of my attention and energies would be attracted by Muslim politics outside the confines of my own country. It is true that affairs in Egypt did not present a very re-assuring appearance; nor did the new Constitutions in Turkey and Persia receive, after an initial outburst of welcome, their full measure of sympathy which we in India felt to be due to such heroic and hazardous enterprises from England, the one European Power with which we had all along been exclusively concerned. The only other European Power on our political horizon had been Russia. So long as after the overthrow of France a hundred years previously she was the most considerable of the Powers on the continent of Europe, and had further aggravated that situation by aiming at being a yet greater Power on the continent of Asia, everyone in India had been sedulously taught by the masters of India's destinies to regard her as the enemy of mankind, and to believe that it was the sacred mission of England to thwart and defeat her. But the rapid rise of Japan and its signal success in defeating Russia in the Far East, while it encouraged other oriental nations to hold up their heads and to hope, so radically altered the position of Russia that from being an inveterate enemy she became a friend and in all but name ally of England, even though it was her victorious adversary that had been, and still remained, the acknowledged and official ally of that nation. This speedily reacted on Eastern politics, not only in Persia, where Russia openly stood up as a high-handed dictator, and here it was soon to cause a hail-storm of ultimatums, but also in Turkey, where the rivalries of the Slav and the Teuton now reappeared with added vehemence in the form of a struggle between Entente and Alliance. Once more had the Near East become the storm-centre of European politics.

All this was no doubt disquieting enough to Indian Musalmans who had been brought up from their childhood to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States. But the political controversies of Hindus and Musalmans appeared none the less to be their immediate concern in India. The passions that these inter-communal differences had unfortunately aroused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of acute international conflict, while Turkey and Persia still seemed comparatively remote.

But things did not proceed precisely in the way in which I had optimistically forecasted. The year 1911 proved a fateful year for Muslim States. The new Governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, which soon developed into regular storms.

THE DURBAR ANNOUNCEMENT:

In India, too, the year proved more fateful for Musalmans than anyone could have predicted. Just before the close of the year the King-Emperor made a portentous Announcement at Delhi where

he had come ostensibly to announce in person in an "Imperial" Durbar only the event of his coronation that year. It was admittedly an "abrupt departure from the tradition of British Government and a complete dislocation of official habits." But this unusual procedure, and the secrecy which had been maintained not only at the expense of India but also of that of the Local Governments, were justified on the ground that the Imperial Announcement was "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of the British rule in India," and that the discussion of measures which were being taken in consequence of an agitation that indicated "bitterness of feeling," and was at the same time "very widespread and unyielding," would have in its turn caused endless agitation. As we all know, the Announcement comprised a re-adjustment of territories upsetting Lord Curzon's vindictive Partition of Bengal and the creation of the new Province of Behar and Orissa after the re-union of Bengal, East and West. It also indirectly penalised Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi. As I wrote in the *COMRADE* at the time, I was in favour of both these schemes, "taking each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes", and "irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India for the Announcement." The Partition in the form then approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the capital was needed in 1858. Lords Curzon and Midleton had sinned in a hurry, and it would have seemed that Lords Hardinge and Crewe were repenting at leisure. But it was clear from the King-Emperor's Announcement as well as from the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that "the key-stone of the whole project" was the "proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India"; that it was only "as a consequence of the transfer" that the Partition was modified; that the Bengalis were expected to be "reconciled to the change" of capital by "other features of the scheme which were specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengal sentiment"; and that the re-union of the two Bengals was no more than "the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment" for "the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." There was not a word in the Government of India's Despatch about such things as the financial embarrassment of the administration in Eastern Bengal, the unsatisfactory results of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca, all of which could have been utilised to justify the unsettlement of a "settled fact." The Partition of 1905 was indeed acknowledged in that Despatch to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view," "It relieved," so ran the Despatch, "the over-burdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share." But Bengal had to be deprived of the

distinction of claiming the capital of India as its own capital as well, and of the opportunities it had thus enjoyed of criticising the Govt. of India and subjecting it to constant pressure from such close quarters. We had already been familiarised, to the extent of feeling downright moral contempt for it, with the Doctrine of Compensation in the foreign politics of Europe, according to which Morocco had been given to France for the sake of a free hand for the English in Egypt, and Tripoli had been all but given to Italy while Germany had made her famous panther leap at AGADIR. This fatal doctrine had now peacefully penetrated into the internal administration of India. "Eastern Bengal and Assam," wrote the Government of India.—

"have no doubt benefitted greatly by the Partition, and the Mohamedans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented, but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever."

As I wrote on that occasion:—

"what could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few worldly belongings in order to load the discontented, if not disloyal, Paul with rewards and compensation? The Musalmans have no PANTHER to send to Agadir, and it is too well-established a rule of diplomacy that NO PANTHER, NO COMPENSATION!,"

REACTION ON MUSLIM POLITICS.

While I declared in the COMRADE that "in our judgment the Musalmans should accept the decision of the Government," I could not but say that they had deserved a better fate. Before the Partition they had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them a well deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that, like all NOVEAUX RICHES, these political PARVENUS sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about the peacock manner. But, like the exaltation born of a draught of hashish, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and a force that were terrible. The emancipated slaves were, so to speak once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the position of the slave-driver they had used the lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly. The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had been made to fight the battle of their rulers against their neighbours, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they had made their own peace with all convenient speed, and had left the Musalmans to the mercy of those against whom they had been used as auxiliaries. It would be hard to discover in history a

more ignoble instance of betrayal in which "loyalty" has been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and "contentment" has been punished as the worst of crimes. Perhaps I may mention without any indiscretion that when immediately after the Announcement I drove over in haste to interview Sir Charles Bayley, the head of the Local Government now thrown on the scrap-heap, I met Lord Sinha and Sir Benode Mitter who asked me what I thought of the Announcement. I told them that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal the Announcement had been a matter of "give and take," that for "sturdy, loyal" Beharis it had been one of "take" only, but that for the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal it had been one of nothing but "give," and as a reward for their loyalty and contentment they had been given a generous helping of humble pie. And then I walked off with the mumbled prayer that they might be spared too acute an attack of indigestion! In the Durbar itself a little earlier I remember that I had been accosted by my old friend Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, as I was hastily perusing the Announcement. As it happened, I was among the very first in the Press Camp to receive a copy of it from the hands of the official who was distributing them. Sir Charles had humorously asked me if there was anything in the Announcement for me or for him, and I had replied with ill-suppressed bitterness that there was nothing for me, but that there was plenty of work for him. And who can say that my prophecy has not proved true?

Friends, I have gone into this matter at considerable length only because the Announcement has always appeared to me to be a very distinct land-mark in the political progress of the Musalmans. Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realised that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S CREED.

The Muslim League, although never an anti-Hindu or anti-Congress organisation, had at its birth in the very midst of the Partition agitation naturally emphasised in its creed the protection of communal interests and loyalty to Government, even though it had also included therein the promotion of harmony and concord with sister-communities. A year after the Durbar Announcement, the Council of the League recommended a change in the creed, and it emphasised in the new creed that it recommended "Self-government suitable for India" as its ideal. In commenting upon this change, which was eventually accepted by the League in its annual session in the following March, I had stated that for the Musalmans their new political creed was but "the half-way house from which

their ultimate destination was clearly visible," and I do not think I can do better in helping you to form a just estimate of our position to-day than quote from the COMRADE of that date the following passage which I would ask all Nationalists, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to consider carefully :—

' But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the ruler and the ruled, that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal.....In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India, we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted. India is to be a *PLURIBUS UNUM*.

In foreign affairs the year 1912 had opened with far different prospects from those of 1911. Up to the last, Indian Musalmans had entertained the hope that things would right themselves. But this did not happen, and the year ended even worse than it had begun. The sad disillusionment with regard to international morality for which the shameless brigandage of Italy in Tripoli was responsible had greatly affected the Musalmans in the autumn of 1911. If any further disillusionment was needed it was supplied by the action of Russia in Persia and Britain's "sanctioned acquiescence." In both cases the utmost brutality characterised European aggression. Who can forget the massacres in the Tripoli Oasis or the celebration in Persia of the New Year, which coincided with the anniversary of the Tragedy of Kerbela, when, among others, the Siqat-ul-Islam, the highest ecclesiastic of Northern Persia—"a man universally respected alike for his learning, his piety and his tolerance"—was harried by the Russians. If anything could surpass these things in the anguish they caused to Muslim minds, it was the threatened aeroplane attack on the Holy Ka'ba by Italy and the actual bombardment of Holy Meshad by Russia which followed them. Truly did Mr. Shuster declare at a banquet given in his honour by the Persia Committee in London on his visit there after his expulsion from Persia :

"I am not bitter about my own experience, but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Mohamedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this review the events of the past year."

These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by those still more bitter in 1912 in the autumn of which broke out the Balkan War which at one time threatened to expel the Turks from Europe after nearly five hundred years.

REACTION ON MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Muslims from England ever since 1911, and this estrangement could not but react on their relations with the British officials here, who, in spite of their detestation of the Radical politicians in power in England, could not help looking askance at Indians daring to criticise an English Government with a candour and a courage unusual in a subject race. The COMRADE case, which for the first time brought home to Indians the power of the now defunct Press Act for evil, was concerned, as many of you may still remember, with the forfeiture of a pamphlet received from the Turks. In this they had only appealed to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. While this litigation was going on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore embittered Muslim feeling still further. In consequence of all this I had proceeded to England, in company with the then Secretary of the Muslim League, to appeal to the British Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to bode no good to any body, and which was sure to drive the Muslims to despair. In this we partly succeeded; but within a year events of far greater magnitude occurred in which the entire world was involved. The War and the events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly Deputation of Indian Muslims which we had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year, and which had been received by the Viceroy with every show of good-will.

OUTBREAK OF WAR AND MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

When the war with Germany broke out, I think I fairly represented the feeling of educated and responsible Indian Muslims, who were too self-respecting to play the sycophant, when I wrote in the COMRADE of the 12th August 1914 as follows.—

‘There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal services to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people would be used to decrease rather than increase the Government's embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable, and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Hunners.

'Whether Great Britain has respected Muslim Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco or not; whether the utterances of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the last war have been just and consistent, or unjust and inconsistent; whether their action showing two breaches of treaty obligations, by Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by Italy in the Tripolitanine, have tallied or not with the recent public proclamation of their sense of the sacredness of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood and bed-ridden age in Tripoli and the Balkans; whether the late Colonials' treatment of their coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise; whether the Home Government has exerted its full resource on the Colonials to right the wrong or has only assumed an incredible apotency; whether Indians' claims for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness or of jealousy and rancour; whether in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal the Muslims were treated with due consideration for their loyalty or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly respected, or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideration, our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and found her good exceeding by a great deal her evil, we shall remain loyal to her as only freemen can remain loyal, with a sincere devotion and an unbought submission, and this whether she crushes the naval power of Germany and becomes a dictator to Europe, or the last ship of her mighty armada sinks in the North Sea and her last soldier falls down and dies round Jago or London... Even if England may not need us, we have need of her, believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered into lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let : once and for all assure the Government that, so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone Provincial Satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere.'

Friends, I fear I must have exhausted your patience with these long quotations from the COMRADE, but I feel certain of your indulgence if you would only consider the object I have in view. This long narration is intended to show to the world how different were the feelings of Indian Muslims towards this Government until quite recent times, and what patience we had shown in the face of injustice, indifference and continued callousness.

TURKEY AND INDIAN MUSLIM FEELING.

At the suggestion of Government, and through its own medium, I had even cabled, along with my friend Dr. Ansari, to the late lamented Talaat Pasha urging the Turks to think a thousand times before they participated in the War. And even

when war was being forced on Turkey by ill-advised threats such as those of the LONDON TIMES, my very long, well-known and in the English Press extensively quoted and highly approved article, in reply to that of the TIMES, on the "Choice of the Turks," had shown to what lengths Indian Musalmans were then prepared to go in assisting their foreign Government.

I shall only quote to you the final conclusion at which after very careful and detailed reasoning I had myself arrived in that article, and which I had recommended to the Musalmans for adoption as the policy of the community :

All truly loyal people (I wrote) have closed the chapter of civil controversy with the officials and into that book they are like to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dream ; if, for instance the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes.

A conclusion such as this had recommended itself even to the Calcutta correspondent of the MORNING POST. And yet it was for publishing this very article that I forfeited the security of the COMRADE Press and had had in consequence to discontinue that paper. It was then that a distinguished weekly journal of England, THE NEW STATESMAN, severally criticised the Government of India in a leading article sarcastically headed "Encouraging Loyalty in India"! And when the war with Turkey actually broke out, a representative of the Associated Press and Reuter interviewed me at Delhi and subsequently informed me that the interview was much appreciated by the Viceroy who had seen it before publication. I had predicted in the previous article that even if war broke out with the Turks the anchor of the Indian Musalmans' loyalty would hold, and now that war had broken out I repeated that the anchor still held. I asked them to commend their souls to God and to place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of peace and tranquility in India. I compared their position to that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with one another. "Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering are in any case those of the children."

THE LIMITS OF MUSLIM 'LOYALTY.'

In this interview, as also in the last leading article the COMRADE was permitted to publish before it closed its doors, it was clearly indicated that Musalmans were placing implicit reliance on the solemn pledges given by the British Government and Britain's Allies with regard to their faith and the Holy Places of Islam. I had distinctly pointed out that Arabia must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy Places by a really

Independent Muslim Power be endangered. This was the least to which Indian Musalmans were entitled unless their religion was required by their non-Muslim Government to be a matter of no consequence to them as compared with their "loyalty" to that Government. I may add that I had concluded my interview with the statement that the Muslims could be trusted to act on the receipt of Jesus Christ, to render unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar. But I was informed by the distinguished Journalist who had recorded the interview that the Censor of Press telegrams, who was no doubt a good Christian, while passing the rest of the message had carefully scored out the exhortation of Jesus Christ. No doubt that astute official, who believed in the supremacy of the State over the Church, thought that if the Muslims were reminded of their duty to render unto Cæsar what was due to Cæsar, they might perchance remember the accompanying exhortation also to render unto God what was due to God!

This was precisely what happened before very long, and the history of our betrayal is too recent to be repeated in any detail. During the War Musalmans were required, in defiance of their religious obligations, to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jihad. The Jazirat-ul-Arab which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and which Musalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-Muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her Allies, and is still under their control in defiance of the Prophet's well-known testamentary injunction. The Holy Places of Islam, which are not particular buildings merely, but territories, including the three Sacred Harams of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, have been filched from the successor of the Prophet and Commander of the Faithful, who is their only accredited Servant and Warden, and even today he is not permitted to occupy, defend and serve them. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Khalifa, the appointment of non-Muslim Mandatories to control various portions of it; and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence, through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds openly advocated by the Allies, and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as Great Britain herself. As we all know, Greece was her own brutal nominee and agent in the execution of this policy even after the armistice in defiance of all laws of peace or war, and howsoever much the other Allies also may have resisted Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, it was Great Britain herself that was the chief obstacle in the path of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the very end of this tragic tale. Discrimination was made against Muslim governments and populations in various other ways also, such as by the denial of self-determination to the Muslim populations of territories forcibly annexed or occupied and controlled by non Muslim Powers. While all this was going on, Indian Muslim opinion, unrepresented at the

Peace Conference, and represented before the Allies themselves only by unrepresentative Musalmans, was vigorously suppressed in India by means of those well-known engines of tyranny and terrorism, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, Regulation III of 1818 and, finally, the declaration of Martial Law in parts of India, over and above the abuse of the ordinary penal law of the land.

THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR RE-UNION.

I have already declared it as my view that the bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim State and populations abroad hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were in need of support and sympathy they must have a lasting, equitable settlement with the sister communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. And the time too was ripe for a Hindu-Muslim re-union. True partnership and association, whether in business, social relationship or in love, requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and the poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant, is perhaps possible but far from common; and it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy with regard to the Minto-Morley Reforms, however, Musalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolitan war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Government, and it is not with a view to praise my own community that I say it has now to a considerable extent made up the distance between itself and the more advanced communities of India by dint of forced marches which it had to undertake throughout this momentous period.

THE RAPPROACHMENT.

It was at my brother's suggestion and my own during our internment that in 1915 the Muslim League held its annual session at Bombay where the Congress was also to meet. Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque, the veteran Congressman, who was nevertheless one of the founders of the Muslim League, and who had valiantly stuck to the Congress all these years, in spite of the fact that the bulk of his community was still following the lead of Syed Ahmad Khan given thirty years ago, was now elected President of the Muslim League with great eclat. He was called upon to execute the mandate of his own community and bring about a joint meeting of the political leaders in the camps of the League and the Congress in order to adjust the future political relations of the various communities

concerned. Mr. Jinnah's persuasive advocacy was added to the vigour of the President, and, last but not least, the audacious courage and vehement perseverance of that intrepid Muslim patriot, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, brought about the rapprochement which was to bear fruit in the following year in the historic Lucknow Compact. So rapid had been the progress of the Muslims that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential addresses in order to compare notes. But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the "ever-loyal" Muslim.

Government had now come to realise what would be the inevitable result of the Bombay rapprochement, and it is a matter of history how the Muslim Leaguers were compelled to conclude in camera a session begun under such auspices. Thenceforward, the Congress and the Muslim League always met for their annual sessions at the same centre and worked in entire co-operation. The result was inevitable and could well have been foreseen. If the Congress President of the Ahmedabad Session was lodged in the Alipore gaol when he should have been occupying the Presidential chair at Ahmedabad, the President of the Muslim League for the same year was indicted for waging War against the King at Ahmedabad itself on account of his Presidential address, and, even when acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury on that charge, was consigned to the Ahmedabad gaol after being convicted of sedition. It is a feather in the Muslim cap that while Srijut Das has brilliantly led the Swarajists to victory in Bengal and elsewhere, his Muslim confrère, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, is now sharing the honours of Ferrawda gaol with Mahatma Gandhi, having in the meantime more than doubled his original sentence, in spite of the restricted opportunities for indulging in criminal practices that a prisoner's life affords, and has thus corrected the error of a blundering jury!

MUSLIM REALIZATION OF LARGER INDIA INTERESTS.

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without leaning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Muslims would have been more than human, or less than that, if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a

wrong unredressed, they had followed the policy of "wait and see". They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series of wrongs done to India—wrongs which remained unrepented. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were as surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Musalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Musalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs.

THE COMING OF THE MAHATMA.

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwalla Bagh was, however, of a passive character, not inviolable nor cheerfully borne, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab, but I feel confident they themselves would be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that then took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma!"

The Mahatma's story is too well-known to you all, and now happily to a good-many well-informed people outside India also, for me to recapitulate it here. His experiences in South Africa had taught him that it was idle to expect justice for Indians overseas unless justice was done to Indians at home and India secured a government of her own. This, of course, did not mean that the British connection must necessarily be broken; and even to-day not only he, whose forbearance is proverbial, but also followers of his like myself who cannot pretend to be equally forbearing believe, in spite of the bitter experiences of the last few years, that the truest Swaraj for India is not incompatible with the British connection if the British nation and British Government only undergo a change of heart and make a *PRYASCHIT* for the past. It was no doubt to deliver India from her bonds, spiritual no less than political, that

the Mahatma had returned to the Motherland.

But the methods that he himself believed in and inculcated to his fellow-countrymen were not those that would be called "political" in the politics-ridden West. To him, as to all great teachers of mankind, Life was a single synthesis, however much we might analyse it for the convenience of philosophical study, and there was no direct antithesis between the political and the spiritual.

JESUS AND ISRAEL—A PARALLEL SITUATION.

Many have compared the Mahatma's teachings, and latterly his personal sufferings, to those of Jesus (on whom be peace); but the analogy goes farther than many have yet realised. Jesus was a Jew, and those who lovingly followed him acclaimed him as the Messiah of the House of David who had come to restore to the Israelites their long lost independence and power. Just as the "Tragedy of History" had been illustrated by the doom required by long-gathering guilt in the case of the Ten Tribes of the kingdom of Samaria, who were crushed and practically annihilated or dispersed by Assyria more than seven hundred years before the birth of Jesus, so was it illustrated again a century and a quarter later in the case of their no less guilty brothers of Judah when Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian, destroyed the Temple of Solomon, razed Jerusalem to the ground, and, making the Jews his captives, carried them into exile.

Ever since then the Israelites had dreamt dreams of revenge and restoration, and the victory of Cyrus seemed at one time to realise all that had been hoped. The re-building of the Temple had commenced, and after a temporary suspension resumed. Zerubbabel, who was of the line of David, was the hope of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah the son of Iddo, who looked forward to the political regeneration of the Jews, consequent on the overthrow and destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations." The line of David was hoped to be restored in the person of Zerubbabel himself, and the Messianic predictions of earlier prophets thus fulfilled. This prediction was, however, not fulfilled at the time and whatever became of Zerubbabel, who disappears with the coronation scene in Zechariah, he never wore a real crown nor sat upon the throne of his fathers.

Israel was destined never more to taste the sweets of independence; but, whether under the yoke of Greeks or of Romans, it never lost the hope of restoration. "The triumphal and often cruel entry of Greek and Roman civilization into Asia threw it back upon its dreams. More than ever it invoked the Messiah as judge and avenger of the people. A complete renovation, a revolution which would shake the world to its very foundations, was necessary in order to satisfy the enormous thirst for vengeance excited in it by the sense of its superiority and by the sight of its humiliation." (Renan).

Herod the Great who had contrived to secure some semblances of independence from Rome had died about the year in which Jesus

was born, and "his three sons were only lieutenants of Romans, analogous to the Rajas of India under the English dominion" (Renan). When during the childhood of Jesus, Archelaus, its ethnarch, was deposed by Augustus, the last trace of self-government was lost to Jerusalem. Judea was thenceforward part of a dependency of the province of Syria which was governed by an imperial legate. A series of Roman procurators, subordinate in important matters to the imperial legate of Syria, of whom Pontius Pilate is so well-known to Christian history, were constantly occupied in extinguishing the volcano which was seething beneath their feet. Continual sedition, excited by the zealots of Mosaism did not cease, in fact, to agitate Jerusalem during all this time. To cast down the Roman eagle, and destroy the works of arts raised by the Herods, in which the Mosaic regulations were not always respected, were perpetual temptations to fanatics who had reached that degree of exaltation which removed all care for life. The Samaritans were agitated by movements of a similar nature. The "Zelotes" or "Sicarii," pious assassins who imposed on themselves the task of killing whoever in their estimation broke the Law, began to appear. A movement which had much more influence upon Jesus was that of Judas, the Gaulonite or Galilean. The Census which was the basis of taxation by the foreigner was hated as almost an impiety. That ordered in the sixth year of the Christian era had fully re-awakened the theocratic abhorrence of Gentile government and had caused a great fermentation. In fact, an insurrection had broken out in the Northern provinces from which the greatest achievements of the Jewish people had always proceeded. "Men deemed themselves on the eve of the great renovation. The Scriptures, tortured into divers meanings, fostered the most colossal hopes. In each line of the writings of the Old Testament they saw the assurance, and in a manner the programme, of the future reign which was to bring peace to the righteous, and to seal for ever the work of God." (Renan)

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF JESUS. 6

When Jesus contemplated the world at the outset of his ministry he was called upon to make his choice of the weapons of reform. The conditions of his people and his times, as I think, rather than any fundamental objection to the use of force in all circumstances, as Christian churchmen profess, made him pin his faith to non-resistance of evil. In other words, he decided to defeat force by his own suffering just as Husain subsequently died at Karbala, although the latter died sword in hand. But whatever view we may take of the choice of Jesus, it is certain that his fundamental idea was different from that of the political reformers of his time such as Judas the Gaulonite, whose example had shown him the futility of the popular seditions of his day. If ever he was the author of the disclaimer: "My kingdom is not of this world," he must have meant that he was not setting out to defeat Satan "the Prince of this world" with the help of Satanic

weapons. He was not "worldly" in his methods; but this does not mean that he was "other-worldly." All that it signifies is that he was "unworldly." Having resisted the temptation to be a political revolutionary on the very threshold of his career as a teacher, he never succumbed to it. The revolution he wished to effect was a moral revolution, and although he did not escape the fate of "rebels", and was placed on the Cross by order of Pilate with the description "King of the Jews", which is, in spite of its intended irony, significant of the Roman Procurator's political suspicions, Liberty for him meant in the first instance Truth and self-purification. Renan was, to my mind, a typical Frenchman of his times for whom the claims of the State were paramount, and he could neither understand nor appreciate the thoroughgoing theocracy of Jesus, the "Servant of the Lord." Nevertheless, I agree with him in the conclusion that "as an austere republican or a zealous patriot he would not have arrested the great current of the affairs of his age; but in declaring that politics are insignificant, he has revealed to the world that one's country is not everything, and that the man is before, and higher than, the citizen." Vengeance which was consuming the Israelites was the Lord's. Jesus counselled the upholders of the *lex talionis* who claimed an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth that he who had been smitten on one cheek should turn the other cheek also to the smiter. So much for the foreign tyrant. As for his own countryman, the Jew, who, falling a victim to his own weakness and a fear of the Gentile masters of Judea, had become a publican or tax-collector on behalf of the foreigner, he too could easily claim a share in the abounding love of Jesus. The idea of being all powerful by suffering and resignation, and of triumphing over force by purity of heart, is as old as the days of Abel and Cain, the first progeny of Man. But since it so eminently suited the conditions of the times of Jesus, and the record of his ministry, however inadequate or defective, has still preserved for us this part of his teachings in some detail, it has come to be regarded by Christians and even by many non-Christians as an idea peculiar to Jesus.

JESUS AND GANDHI

Be that as it may, it was just as peculiar to Mahatma Gandhi also; but it was reserved for a Christian government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace. The political conditions of India just before the advent of the Mahatma resembled those of Judea on the eve of the advent of Jesus, and the prescription that he offered to those in search of a remedy for the ills of India was the same that Jesus had dispensed before in Judea. Self-purification through suffering; a moral preparation for the responsibilities of government; self-discipline as the condition precedent of Swaraj—this was the Mahatma's creed and conviction; and those of us who have been privileged to have lived in the glorious year that culminated

in the Congress session at Ahmedabad have seen what a remarkable and what a rapid change he wrought in the thoughts, feelings and actions of such large masses of mankind.

THE MAHATMA AND SATYAGRAHA.

Mahatma Gandhi had been in direct touch with the Indian Government, had often counselled the Viceroy, and had continued his assistance to the British Govt. in its hour of need in South Africa by working as the unpaid recruiting sergeant of that government in India. This had indeed amazed those who could not associate him whose life itself was a Sermon on the Mount with recruitment of blood-spilling soldiers. Yet even so loyal a subject and so staunch a friend was compelled to oppose a measure of that Government which no one reading British declarations of gratitude for India's loyalty in the early stages of the War could have conceived as the possible culmination of that gratitude at the end of that War. A Reform Scheme was under consideration professedly for enlarging the Indians' share in Indian administration. But while one hand was declared to be about to give a wider franchise to India, the other was already busy robbing her even of her narrowly-restricted liberties. This is what my brother and I wrote to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, from our internment at Chhindwara on the 24th April, 1919, when we were about to court imprisonment by breaking the Defence of India Regulations which had curtailed our liberties four years previously:—

'The War is now over; but the spirit of tyranny that it generated is still abroad; and while, on the one hand, it is being proclaimed in high-sounding phrases that those who are assembled at Paris to decide the destinies of the world on a more equitable and humane basis than Brute Force are not the Masters of the People but their servants, the Government, on the other hand, is denying to the people of India the barest expression on questions that vitally concern them. Not only is the gag not to be removed yet from our own mouths, but a gag of prodigious proportions has been prepared now for silencing more than three hundred millions of God's articulate creatures. The Rowlett Bill just enacted in the most tyrannical manner has ended the reign of law and substituted a reign of terror in its place, and although it affects every section of the people of India, the Muslims are certain to be its first and its worst victims. It has been the Muslim Press that has suffered most under the Press Act, and the same has been true of the Defence of India Act, if we only exclude the unfortunate young men of Bengal rotting in solitary cells or swampy islands without trial or hope of release. Even those who profess a pathetic optimism and hope against hope that the bureaucracy armed with the strength of the giant will not use it as tyrannically as the giant, need only have access to our own experience to be cured of this distressing delusion. We, who have already had enough experience of 'executive discretion' and of "investigating authorities" sitting IN CAMERA, farcically enquiring into undefined charges, and dealing with undisclosed 'evidence' without the help of any code of procedure or law of evidence, submitting reports that cannot bear the light of day, and being finally dismissed as ignorant persons for all their pains, can claim to speak with some authority, and say that the BLACK ACT is nothing more or less than the virtual outlawry of a fifth of mankind.'

It was our privilege to point out to Mahatma Gandhi the real import and full scope of the Rowlatt Bills, soon after he commenced his famous Satyagraha campaign. This was the first dawn of the era of Non-Co-operation. The occurrences at Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore, and in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat are matters of history, and although the Mahatma's admission of his "Himalayan error" has been proclaimed to the world by the Government, and the official and unofficial scribes who have been enlisted in its support, none seems to have had the honesty to admit that the Mahatma's blunder would have overtopped Everest if he had not then united his nation as he did in defence of its liberties. At the very worst the "Himalayan error" consisted in miscalculating the extent of the people's discipline and self-restraint. But if Mahatma Gandhi had left the Rowlatt Bills unchallenged, he would have been guilty of a sin of which he could hardly have purged himself by any kind of expiation. Place all the violence of the infuriated mobs on one side, and on the other side place the cowardliness of a surrender to the slavery sought to be imposed on the nation by these Bills, and, in spite of my utter abhorrence of such violence I say with all deliberateness that on the Day of Judgment I would rather stand before God's White Throne guilty of all this violence than have to answer for the unspeakable sin of so cowardly a surrender. In saying this I am only applying to the situation four years earlier my chief's own admission in the court of the judge who has ordered that for six years he should "be buried alive." "I knew" admitted the Mahatma, "that I was playing with fire." But he also added: "I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same!" Christ-like in his methods he has been Christ-like to the end. He had 'steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,' and not even the prospect of the Cross could make him shrink from treading the path of duty.

NON-VIOLENCE.

I would like to re-state here the position of men like myself with regard to non-violence. I am not a Christian believing in the sinfulness of all resistance to evil, and in their practice, even if not in their theory, the vast bulk of Christians and all Christian States are in full agreement with me. The last War presented an excellent opportunity to these States and to Christians at large to demonstrate their belief in the doctrine of non-resistance, but we know that none of the States followed it, and the few Christians whose practice was not divorced from their professions were the "conscientious objectors" contemptuously called "conchies", who were subjected to ridicule and contumely and were punished like felons. But that was not all. Every national Church blessed the national Flag and sent the national warriors as on a Crusade. As a Mussalman and a follower of the Last of the Prophets (on whom be Allah's blessing and peace!), I believe that war is a great evil; but I also believe that there are worse things than war. "There is

no compulsion in faith", says the Quran, because force and religious conviction have no common denominator. They belong to two very different planes. But when war is forced on a Muslim, and the party that does so has no other argument but this, then, as a Mussalman and the follower of the Last of the Prophets, I may not shrink but must give the enemy battle on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. If he respects no other argument than force and would use it against me, I would defend my Faith against his onslaught and would use against him all the force I could command,—force without stint and without cessation. But when, in the language of the Quran, "War hath dropped her weapons", my sword must also be sheathed. Warfare, according to the Quran, is an evil; but persecution is a worse evil, and may be put down with the weapons of war. When persecution ceases, and every man is free to act with the sole motive of securing divine good-will, warfare must cease. These are the limits of violence in Islam, as I understand it, and I cannot go beyond these limits without infringing the Law of God. But I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, and our compact is that as long as I am associated with him I shall not resort to the use of force even for purposes of self-defence. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence; that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions of people should be a matter of reproach to it; and, finally, that victory achieved with violence must be not the victory of all sections of the nation, but mainly of the fighting classes, which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Our Swaraj must be the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenance as well on the prowess of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number, and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. Since I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work of non-violent Non-Co-operation, I have no need to hanker after violence. Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that suffering willingly and cheerfully undergone will prove to have been the best preparation even for the effective use of Force. But God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and accustom the nation to undergo the small sacrifices that it entails.

WHAT SWARAJ DEMANDS FROM THE NATION.

Here I may ask those of my fellow countrymen who shrink even from these small sacrifices whether they have considered what it is that a soldier who goes to battle is prepared to sacrifice. As the Bible tells us, "Greater love hath no man...than he that lay down his life for his friend." Our own compatriots went to war for a cause not their own to the number of a million and a half. Can

who pride ourselves on the strength of our national feeling shrink from the small sacrifices that non-violent Non-Co-operation demands? But in reality our present programme is but the beginning of national work, and Swaraj when it is attained would require greater sacrifices than those of a soldier. To die for a cause is never all not so very difficult. Men at all times and in all countries have done it, and they have often done it for very poor causes. To live for a cause is not very difficult. The harder thing is to live for a cause, and, if need be, suffer for it; and the cause that we must live and suffer for must be the realisation in India of the Kingdom of God.

VIOLENCE OF NON-CO-OPERATORS AND THEIR OPPONENTS

These being my innermost convictions, I cannot help marvelling at the audacity of those that attribute to us a desire to involve the country in violence, carnage and anarchy. They presume to demand from us who stand between them and violence an assurance of non-violence. And yet their own hands are red with the blood of the innocents shed in Jallianwalla Bagh—blood still as unrepented of as it is unavenged. Contrast this patent insincerity with the frank acceptance by our chief of his full responsibility for Chauri-Chaura and the Bombay riots and you have the measure of the moral worth of Non-Co-operation and of its relentless opponents. The Mahatma's confession is proclaimed to the world by this Christian Government; and I wonder if this Government is also prepared to attribute to the demon on the Mount the slicing off by St. Peter of the ear of Malchus! Who knows how much blood might not have been shed by the disciples of the Prince of Peace if the census of arms taken by the Master had produced a tale of many more than two swords, and had his followers been more steadfast in their support of him than the self-same St. Peter who, according to the Gospels, denied him three times before cock-crow? When the guilt of Chauri-Chaura and similar unfortunate occurrences is being judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Co-operation, and the marvel is not at the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed, but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. I challenge anyone to show another instance in the story of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been urged to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi. There is no country in Europe, with all its cold, frog blood, that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers.

CO-OPERATION.

In dealing with the question of Non-Violence I have digressed

and anticipated a good deal, and I must now revert to my narrative. At the Congress at Amritsar the main resolution was concerned with the Reforms, and although only four years have passed since that session, it would surprise not a few to know that in the discussions over this resolution my friend Deshbandhu Das, the leader of the Council-entry party, and my late chief, Lokmanya Tilak, were entirely opposed to co-operation and the working of the Reformed Councils, while Mahatma Gandhi had himself moved an amendment to that resolution. This was designed to commit the Congress to the principle of the co-operation of the people with the authorities in working the Reforms in response to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation. Neither side was willing to give way, and, as is usual on such occasions, the protracted discussions in the Subjects Committee were delaying the discussions in the Congress and prolonging the session. This was the first occasion, as I have already told you on which I took part in the Congress and for a novice my own contribution is not altogether undeserving of notice. My brother and I tried to discover a formula which could be acceptable both to Mahatma Gandhi and to Lokmanya Tilak and Deshbandhu Das. We at last succeeded in this effort, and Sriji Bepin Chandra Pal moved, and I seconded, an amendment recommending to the Congress that "the provisions of the Reforms Act be used, as far as possible, with a view to secure full Responsible Government at an early date." This cleared the air, and finally both parties agreed to support a resolution declaring that "the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government." It was with this addition that the Congress passed the resolution moved by Deshbandhu Das and seconded by Lokmanya Tilak, which declared India to be fit at the moment for full Responsible Government, characterised the Reforms Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and urged that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. I have recalled these details only to show that even at Amritsar Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers were willing to co-operate with Government so far as was possible. And yet otherwise so entirely changed was the atmosphere at this session of the Congress that after my long separation from my people I could not help being greatly impressed by the change. The Hindus and Musalmans were no longer enemies or even rivals, but were comrades and brothers in arms. There was no longer a plethora of set speeches suggestive of mid-night oil, "full of sound and fury signifying nothing." There was a new earnestness which indicated that the resolutions of the Congress were resolutions indeed, in the sense that the nation was resolved to act. And above all, it was clear that fear of fellow-man was no longer to be the compelling motive in India, and that the only fear this land would know in future would be the fear of God. So struck was I by this amaz-

ing change that I quoted in my speech at Amritsar the couplet of a fellow-townsmen of mine who had said :—

(One round of the wine cup was like a century long cycle of Time ; when we left the tavern we found that the whole world had changed.)

FROM CO-OPERATION TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

But so far it was only a change in the character and outlook of the people. Their policy was, however, also destined to undergo an entire sea-change. And it was Mahatma Gandhi who at Amritsar was insisting on the people's co-operation with the authorities that was destined to be the first and, in the beginning, almost the sole advocate of Non-Co-operation. What was it that had wrought this change of policy? I must confess my feelings towards this Government had undergone a complete change during the War, and in particular since the Armistice towards the end of 1918. When now I read in the old files of the Comrade the publicly expressed expectations I had entertained from this Government not only at the commencement of the year 1911, but even as late as the end of 1914, it appears as if I was examining the newly discovered bones of an animal now altogether extinct. It is true that as late as in December, 1919, I had taken, with regard to co-operation with the authorities, a middle position between Mahatma Gandhi on the one side, and Deshbandhu Das and Lokmanya Tilak on the other which eventually became the position of the entire Congress. But I was even then not very hopeful of the possibility of such co-operation. I had seen only too clearly to what the co-operation of the Musalmans with the authorities had led them. And I had like-wise realised that what had happened at Jallianwalla Bagh, in the Crawling Lane, and at the Dak-Bungalow at Manianwalla was not a succession of unconnected incidents in which the thoughtless fury of the officials had suddenly vented itself, but a series of acts symptomatic of the disease from which this foreign bureaucracy was inevitably suffering. I was thoroughly convinced that this disease was congenital with the system, and if the system continued such incidents were bound to recur, and Government would inevitably be a succession of Jallianwalla Baghs unless the British underwent a complete change of heart. The Duke of Connaught, when he came out to India in the beginning of 1921 to open the Reformed Legislatures, appealed to us to forget and forgive. I was, and still am, prepared to forgive ; but forget I could not, and would not. To forget only means for the awakened sleeper to go back to sleep and to dream the pleasant dream he had been dreaming before he had awakened to the stern reality. But Mahatma Gandhi was not yet convinced of all this, and his conversion came a little later. For many months after the Amritsar session he continued to live in the hope that England would yet repent, and while restoring the integrity and independence of the Khilafat, and evacuating the Jazirat-ul-Arab, England would redress the great wrong done to the people of

the Punjab. In fact, it was not a mere hope that sustained him but an absolute conviction, and when he too was at last disillusioned, and would indicate in the process of preparing the programme of his constructive work a profound and thoroughgoing want of belief in the good intentions of England so that even we would suggest that perhaps he was going too far, he used to explain this by saying that it was a more recent, and therefore a more zealous, convert. When the last Petition that Muslim India addressed to England through the Indian Khilafat Delegation, in the interview that we had with the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the ex-premier of England, proved the utter futility of such appeals; and when the Punjab wrong was treated as an "error of judgment" to be rewarded by a pension paid out of India's poverty to the murderer of her innocent sons, and to the cold-blooded approver of this "error" who, enjoying the safety of a Government House surrounded by armed guards, had not even the justification of General Dyer, then Mahatma Gandhi lost all faith in co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Much has been said and written about Non-Co-operation and if our opponents, or even some of our friends, would not understand its significance even now, I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that briefly it means that if we may not resist evil, at least we will not assist it. It is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifices as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed. But although we do contemplate such a result, it is little more than incidental. Our movement, even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of others; its direct aim is to remove our own paralysis. Every item of the Non-Co-operation programme, with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive side, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. But if we do not destroy, or, in other words, if we continue to avail ourselves of all that the Government has constructed for the continuance of its own existence, and as a trap for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall, but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if our direct aim was to paralyse the Government it was entirely compatible with the purest ethics, and even with the doctrine of Love associated with the name of Jesus Christ and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I maintain that such a paralysis of Government is clearly possible. Friends, very early in my career as a gaolbird I was struck with the system of co-operation followed in Indian jails. Every prisoner gets a remission of a few days at the end of every month for "a clean bill of health" during the month; but some of the prisoners who succeeded in winning the

confidence and favour of the local gaol authorities are made watchmen, convict-overseers or convict-warders, and, besides enjoying other privileges during the rest of their prison life, they earn a more liberal remission of their sentence every month. Every one in this Pandol who has passed through that gateway of freedom called Prison—and, I trust there are a good many present here to-day—is familiar with the work of the convict-overseers and warders who share the duty of keeping watch and ward during the night with the paid warders employed by the gaol administration. As a rule the few paid warders pass the night enjoying tolerably sound sleep, or, at the very worst, doze out their period of sentinel duty. But at the end of every half-hour the gaol resounds with the cries of the prisoners who keep the real watch and ward. "All's well!" is repeated from every corner of the gaol, and so long as this continues the paid warders can sleep the sleep of the just. And this, my friends, is the parable of co-operation. We have lost our liberties and are kept enchained through the services of others who are as much deprived of their liberties as we ourselves, except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Meanwhile the few foreigners who keep us in servitude can enjoy sleep and repose because the co-sharers of our servitude repeat from time to time from every corner of India's vast Bastille the reassuring cry, "All is well!" The only difference is that whereas the convict-watchmen, overseers and warders can in this way at least secure their release from prison a little before their fellow-prisoners over whom they keep watch and ward, our co-operating friends, who are our comrades in slavery cannot look forward even to an earlier release. In fact, they have lost even the sense of slavery, and slavishly hug the very chains that keep them enslaved: As I wrote in the prison itself:

(Leave off worrying for me, O, heedless fool; weep over thine own captivity; that which thou deemest to be an ornament is nothing less than a chain.)

• A QUESTION FOR MUSALMANS.

Friends, I feel certain, I have exhausted you as well as myself with this somewhat exhaustive historical narrative, commencing with the Indian Mutiny and coming down to our own era of Non-co-operation. But in thus narrating past history I had an end in view. I cannot act the part of a dictator to any of you; and yet I want you to co-operate with me. Possessing no such personality as the Mahatma's, and being as unwilling to bind a spell over you as I am incapable of doing it, I could only lead you to the conclusions which after half a life-time of blindness and much blundering I have at last reached by demonstrating to you that our safest guide, the experience of several generations, inevitably leads us to the same. Experience must be our most cherished trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the

path to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided them. Granted that Non-Co-operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake—still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that, what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or, nearer home, in the unsettlement of a "settled fact" in Bengal? No, friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible.

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

It is said that we can have no grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne. You, friends, are in a better position to know how that Treaty came to be concluded than I who had to undergo for a year and a half solitary confinement in all but a technical sense, and have not been in touch with public affairs. But I have studied in some of the back numbers of the newspapers of those days something of what transpired in connection with the revision of the Treaty of Sevres while I was still in prison. You all know about the historic telegram despatched to the Secretary of State by the Government of India after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Local Governments, including their Ministers. You will agree that it fell far short not only of Muslim aspirations and sentiments, but also of the requirements of Islamic Law, since it did not say anything about the evacuation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and only recommended the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places. In fact, the Government of India undoubtedly, even if haltingly, admitted all this when they said: "We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety," though Mr. Chamberlain had the impudence to say that "the terms far exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks." And yet what a storm did the world witness over the publication of even such a telegram. The Secretary of State's resignation was demanded by the Premier, and the King-Emperor "had been pleased to approve of its acceptance." In other words Mr. Montagu was ignominiously dismissed. As Reuter pointed out, "Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in the House of Commons was received with fierce welcoming

cheers from the majority of the Unionists; and the 'Die-Hards,' specially delighted, could hardly contain their satisfaction." "Never before," said another message of Reuter,—

"Never before has the House of Commons re-echoed with such exultant cheering as greeted the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. It emanated from the Unionist benches, but was so loud and prolonged that it seemed general. Some enthusiasts even waved handkerchief."

The most charitable explanation with regard to the attitude of Mr. Montagu's own party, and the party that is the rising hope of such Indians as still cling to the idea of receiving freedom as the gift of the foreigner, is contained in the earlier message of Reuter that "Liberal and Labour members received the news without an expression of opinion." To-day it may perhaps be urged that the Government of India are as anxious as the Muslim leaders themselves to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the questions still at issue between Musalmans and Great Britain. But of what good is that to us so long as the Government of India is only "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" whose "dictation to the British Government" as to what line it ought to pursue in such matters seems to Lord Curzon "quite intolerable." This is what Lord Curzon wrote to Mr. Montagu before "giving him the sack," even though poor Mr. Montagu thought that he was only being let off with a warning. But evidently he had forgotten that at Denshaw there was flogging as well as hanging and that Lord Curzon's final court could be trusted not to let off such criminals as he with a warning, but to warn and hang him also for the same offence.

Not one of those believing Musalmans who is dissatisfied to day with our policy of Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation among the Indians could honestly say that Muslim Indian feeling received anything even approaching proper consideration at the hands of Great Britain. And yet hear what this former Viceroy of India, the same who posed as the benefactor of the Musalmans in partitioning Bengal in 1905, has to say about our cry of anguish at the partitioning of the Khilafat fifteen years later. In his letter to Mr. Montagu he writes :

"But the part India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension.....Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Muslim appeal?"

In his speech before his Cambridge constituency Mr. Montagu has said :

"The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sevres. Had the Treaty produced peace, the Government of India would have accepted it loyally; but when it showed, as I always knew that it would show, that it could not produce peace, the Government of India pleaded for its revision. I ask whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent when the so-called peace was destroying the internal peace of their country?"

Poor Mr. Montagu! How easy it is, it seems, to forget that while the Government of Canada, South Africa and Australia are national governments, the Government of India over which Lord Reading still presides after the dismissal of Mr. Montagu is not a national government at all. On the contrary, it is one which was bound to lock up for six long years the greatest leader that the nation had produced for many generations, in defence to pressure from the very Imperial Government that had treated its partial support of his view in this affair with such open contempt. Dr. Sapru, too, had forgotten this patent difference between India and the Dominions, and had to be reminded of it at the Imperial Conference by the representative of a country once as distressful as our own, namely Ireland. We had ourselves urged upon Mr. Montagu the very consideration to which he referred in his Cambridge speech; but it was all in vain, and our advocacy of the same cause which the late Secretary of State advocated with equally little success was punished in various ways by the Government in India. Those who used to tell me on these occasions that Mr. Montagu was sympathetic had to be reminded that his sympathy had proved wholly sterile. I have always held that Mr. Montagu should have resigned on any one of at least half a dozen occasions even before his ultimate dismissal, and now he tells us himself that:

"He had been repeatedly on the verge of resignation, but he had hesitated because he did not wish to say to the Mohamedans of India that the solemn pledges which had been made to them were irretrievably lost."

Nevertheless, his resignation had to come at last, and to-day he is not only not in the Government but not even in the House of Commons. Can we then draw from all this any other conclusion than this, that "the solemn pledges which had been made to us are irretrievably lost"? But, no, they are not irretrievably lost. Friends, with the assistance of God, and your whole-hearted co-operation, we will yet retrieve them, or perish in the attempt.

ENGLAND AT LAUSANNE.

This was in March 1922, and although we were promised that due weight would be given to Indian opinion, I ask you to consider what was the attitude of England when six months later the brave Turks, relying not upon the promises of Great Britain, but upon God's grace and their own self-sacrifice and courage, drove Britain's brutal nominees into the sea? You all know that better than I do, and I do not propose to detain you over that. Beaten on the field of battle, England now sought to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory on the conference-table of diplomacy. But here, too, God helped those who helped themselves, and the Treaty of Lausanne proved that the Turks were not only warriors but statesmen as well. Let us hear what Lord Curzon has to say himself of the reasons that brought about the Treaty of Lausanne. Did the English who had commissioned Greece after

the Armistice to rob the Turks of Thrace and even of their home-lands in Asia Minor ; who were at one time actually considering the question of handing over Constantinople to them ; and who had appealed in vain to the Dominions to fight their battle against the now victorious Turks when India could no longer be trusted to make cannon-fodder of her sons after the Karachi Trial—did the English even now repent or relent ? The difference between the conditions under which other treaties, including that of Sevres were imposed and those in which the Lausanne Settlement was arrived at was pointed out by Lord Curzon at the Imperial Conference in the following words :—

Such (dictation of terms at the point of the bayonet) had been the case with all the previous post-war treaties. These had in each case been drawn up by the victorious Powers sitting, so to speak, on the seat of judgment, in the absence of the culprit, and imposing what penalty or what settlement they chose. Only when the terms had been drawn up was the beaten enemy admitted to be told his sentence and to make the convictional protest of the doomed man. Such, indeed, was the environment in which the original Treaty of Sevres was drawn up and signed, though never ratified by the Turkish representatives. Far otherwise was it at Lausanne. There the Turks sat at the table on a footing of equality with all the other Powers. Every article of the Treaty had to be debated with and explained to them. Agreement had to be achieved not by brandishing the big stick but by discussion and compromise.

Commenting upon Lord Curzon's defence of the Treaty of Lausanne and of his praise of Allied diplomacy, which was, according to him reluctant to break up the Conference on important but not vital points and to revert to a state of war, an Indian newspaper, which is not noted for an excess of sympathy with the Turks, wrote as follows.—

No credit can be given to such pacific and discreet diplomacy when it was based on unwillingness to fight. As Lord Curzon said, the Turks knew very well that the Allies had no stomach for further fighting ; on the contrary, they were very nervous about the bellicose temper of the extremist elements among the Turks. "The allies were never certain," said the Foreign Secretary, "how far genuine desire of the leading terms for peace would control the unruly national and extremist elements." It will thus appear that the Turks obtained what they wanted literally at the point of the sword and the role of the conquerors and the conquered was reversed at Lausanne. It was the Turks who dictated the Terms of the Treaty, and the Allies, who dictated the terms of the other post-war treaties, had to accept them.....As a matter of fact the big stick was brandished by the Turks at Lausanne and the Allies made "the conventional protest of the doomed man." Replying to the severe criticism of the Treaty by those "whose motives in making the attack are not free from criticism", he said that "it was the best treaty that could be obtained in the circumstances."

Thus it is once more clear, the Turks secured what they did at Lausanne not because of any regard on the part of England for justice to the Turks, or for the religious obligations and sentiments of Indian Musalmans with regard to the Khilafat, but in spite of England's open hostility towards the Turks and utter disregard of the requirements of Islam. Lord Curzon would have once more brandished the big stick ; but sad to relate, it had changed hands !

I have purposely dealt exclusively with a matter concerning the special interests of Musalmans and affecting their extra-territorial sympathies, for it is obvious that the Treaty of Lausanne, far from settling our national requirements common to all Indian communities, does not even settle the peculiarly Muslim and religi-ous issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. But after all, the issues that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khatimat Committee's demands, and, in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab, still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakably shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that, while they were so anxious for the security of the Turks' and the Arabs' Swaraj, they were so indifferent to their own! Well could it then be said of them.—

(Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou needst in those of heaven as well?)

THE TERRIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

Friends, once more I have perhaps exhausted your patience; but my excuse for it is that I want the Musalmans who are being asked to-day to discard the policy of Non-Co-operation with England to confront facts before they reverse a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation with England had driven them. It is as clear as daylight that so long as India is not an equal partner with England and the Dominions in the Empire, and so long as her Government is but "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away," we cannot be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government of India even if it is proved to the hilt. Besides loyalty to a foreign Government there are other loyalties as well, and so long as Musalmans in India are liable to be punished for disloyalty to Government because they are loyal to their God and to His Last Prophet, as we ourselves were punished at Karachi, and so long as the Holy Land of Islam is under the control of non-Muslim mandarins when we ourselves had been given God's own mandate for it by His Last Messenger as a deathbed injunction, there is no alternative to non-violent Non-Co-operation but one, and that, friends, is the terrible alternative of War! Since the vast bulk of those who try to discredit our policy do so because they are slaves to the fear of Government, and being unwilling to make ANY sacrifice could not even dream of adopting that terrible alternative let us hear no more of a change of policy!

MUSLIM CO-OPERATION WITH NON-MUSLIMS.

And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain, is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, went to jail for advocating the cause of Islam that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionist? I know that Hindu-Muslim relations to-day are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it possible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that either community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is entirely one community's? Friends, I do not believe in diplomacy, and certainly not in that variety of it which is called *real* diplomacy. I do not wish to imitate Sir Roger de Coverly, and put you off with the diplomatic dictum: "Much can be said on both sides of the question." Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Sanarnpur and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation of a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities. For it cannot be gainsaid even by the community that has suffered the most that complaints have been made by members of the other community as well, and obviously it would neither be fair nor productive of any satisfactory result if either community is saddled with all the guilt and denounced without an adequate enquiry. I did not shrink at Delhi from proposing the appointment of a truly representative Committee of Enquiry; but for reasons which it is not necessary to state here no result has yet been achieved of such a committee's appointment. Two things are however patent. The law courts established by Government cannot stop their work while we adjudge the guilt of the two communities. And while it is difficult to arrive at the truth by a national enquiry after witnesses have given their testimony, true or false, on oath before the court of law of the Government, reconciliation itself, which is even more important than the investigation of the truth, is not made easy by the punishment awarded to those who are found guilty by such courts, not unoften on evidence which is not free from suspicion.

THE SUREST REMEDY.

What then is to be done? I have already told you that to accept the version of one party is neither fair, nor would it help us in creating in the other party whose version was disbelieved without any enquiry a disposition towards reconciliation and reform. The only remedy that I can suggest for instant adoption is also the surest, and it was this which was all but adopted towards the end of our discussions at Delhi in the Committee appointed to consider the question. Even after we had decided that a Committee of Enquiry should visit the places where regrettable incidents had followed Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and after we had even nominated the members of this Committee, we were within an ace of cancelling a

this because we noted at a later stage of our deliberations a welcome change in the attitude of the leaders on the two sides. There was now a desire to let bygones be bygones and heartily co-operate for the attainment of Swaraj, as they had been doing two years previously. Obviously, the protagonists on the two sides had once more had a glimpse of that unity of which the Mahatma was at once the chief preacher and the best symbol, and the prospect of gaining party-victories once more appeared mean and contemptible in their eyes. But a difference arose on a petty issue and they parted again. Friends, I pray that God may grant them once more a glimpse of that unity, and that this time it may not be as fleeting as it had been before. Nay, I pray that they may keep ever before them a picture of that unity and the glorious vistas of that freedom which can be seen only through the avenue of national unity, so that all else that is of fair seeming, but which is associated with slavery, may lose its charm for them and be blotted out for all eternity.

THE PETTINESS OF DISTURBING ISSUES.

Believe me, it is not by tawdry, tinselled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for Responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of Pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a Casino and CAFE CHANTANT, or the new warden of the Musalmans' Holy of Holies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If ALAMS and PIPAL trees and noisy processions are our

horizon's utter sum", then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth."

Let us close this chapter of childish make-beliefs, and, taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone benefits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

THE ROOT OF EVIL.

But since I have referred to the low level of the masses let me say this much for them that what I wrote in 1904 in criticising the education given in the Indian universities is still true, and even to-day "the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and the illiterate but excites to fury and so madness the little-learned of the land." And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow-countrymen of other faiths, but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The coming of the Mahatma" had meant the destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations" and the foundation in their place of the one united Kingdom of the Nation to be whose Chief Servant was its great glory. But these little "kings" who had lost their little "thrones" were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant, and were pining for restoration. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal co-workers were free, they had not their courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian world except as openly despised slaves of the foreigner or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But, with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowda they reasserted themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position, they have persistently, though not professedly, addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hasten the recovery of their petty principalities. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi several streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. Soon after his advent, almost all of them

were diverted into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty river rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this Ganges there sailed a powerful ship, manned by lusty sailors, captained by the Mahatma and flying the National flag. What the petty ambitions of petty men have been urging ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should scrap the big ship and take to the little row-boats again. But since these little boats are not safe enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea, they propose a revolution in Nature itself, and ask that the great river would flow back into its old tributaries. But Nature cannot be thwarted, and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backwards is a thing known even to our village fools. In the name of this Congress, and of the Indian Nation, nay, even in the name of that Destiny which shapes our ends, rough-new them how we may, I warn this little breed of men that God willing, they will never succeed, and that the Indian Nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

TOLERATION AND FRATERNAL SELF-SACRIFICE.

Friends, to punish the guilty is not without its advantages even in the domain of politics; but the surest remedy for political disunion is, as I have already suggested, to create on all sides a disposition to forget and forgive. But this is not all, and if we desire to prevent a recurrence of regrettable incidents we must remove the causes of friction. Conformity in all things is only too often desired, and this not only by the bigots, but also by some of the most large-hearted of men. Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for comprehension or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths. That is how they hope to attain Unity and secure Conformity. But history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such eclectic faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people talk back upon toleration. This is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held. I could not define it better than by quoting an American who declared to a fellow-countryman of his holding very different views to his own: "I strongly disagree with every word of what you say; but I shall fight, Sir, to the last drop of my blood for maintaining your right to say it." That, friends, is the best definition of toleration. The Quran which call, upon Musalmans even to fight in defence of their Faith whenever their freedom of faith is assailed or jeopardised, sums up its teaching on

tolerance in the words: "To you your faith, to me mine." If we all agreed to act upon this principle, and at the same time emphasised the features common to different faiths and the spirituality characteristic of all, there would be no strife in the world but peace and tranquility everywhere.

APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

Let us apply this principle to some of the outstanding issues between the various communities of India. If, for instance, processions can be taken out on public roads and no objection is taken to music being played thereon, a Musalman should not object to a procession with music taken out by Hindus, or by other non-Muslim neighbours of his, unless it interferes with his own exercise of some recognised right such as conducting Divine Service in a fitting manner. If, again, a long pole can be carried in procession through the streets without danger to life and limb, no non-Muslim should object to it if it is so carried "with musical honours." But then the Muslims indulging in such practices which are, to say the least of it, of doubtful religious validity, have no right to demand that a non-Muslim neighbour of theirs should permit the lopping off of the branches of a tree which he holds sacred, whether with reason or without it and which is growing on his land and is his property. If there is no law against smoking in public places, no Parsi should object to a non-Parsi's lighting a cigarette in a street even though he himself holds fire to be too sacred an element to be defiled in this way. Similarly, if it is no offence to slaughter animals, and a man kills a fowl, or a cow, or a pig, or kills any animal to provide food for himself or for others or for sacrificial purposes or in a particular manner not involving cruelty to animals, his neighbour should not object to it on the ground that he holds all life too sacred to be destroyed, or that he looks upon the cow as upon a mother, or that he considers a pig too unclean to be eaten, or that he is required by his own religion to kill animals in a different manner to his neighbour's. In all these cases it is, of course, presumed that the animal slaughtered is the property of the man who slaughters it or causes it to be slaughtered, and not his neighbour's whose property he may not unlawfully seize and use or destroy. But we have not, alas, reached a stage of toleration in India when the free exercise of his right by one of us can escape being resented by some others. In fact, the worst of it is that some of us while they insist upon the exercise of their right, sometimes exercise it with the desire to annoy their neighbours, and in a manner that is sure to annoy them. The jeering at men of other faiths when one is taking out a procession required or sanctioned by our own faith, the beating of tom-toms and playing other instruments, which often produce more noise than music, with special vigour before a house of worship of another community, and particularly when Divine service or some other religious rite is in progress and is likely to be

thereby disturbed; the needless lopping off of trees held sacred by Hindus which overhang public thoroughfares, or doing it in an exultant manner; the blowing of cigarette smoke in the face of or too close to a Parsi or a Sikh; the wanton destruction of a good deal of animal life in the sight or immediate neighbourhood of Jains; carrying a garlanded cow in procession through a locality inhabited by Hindus as well for purposes of slaughter; or slaughtering it in a place where Hindus cannot help seeing it—these and many other such are things that occur only too frequently whenever there is a tension of feeling between the communities concerned. And provocation and insolent exultation of the nature described above often lead to hot words, and not seldom to blows which sometimes end in loss of human life.

HOW TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS.

There can be no measure sufficiently comprehensive to safeguard public tranquility and peace in all such cases, and I can think of no National Pact embracing all such situations, even if it is permitted to assume inordinate proportions, and to include details that must make us the laughing stock of the world. The best remedy I must repeat, is the creation of the correct spirit in which the different communities exercise their rights. But it is possible for a national body such as the Congress to deal with some of the principal causes of friction, and to remove them by bringing about an agreement between leaders of the communities concerned. And this it must do. But, while attempting to influence public opinion, and to regulate public action through the agency of such leaders, with courage and confidence, a body like the Congress must be careful not to demand from any community that it should relinquish any rights which may, in the present circumstances involve a sacrifice, far beyond its capacity. It must be remembered that Swaraj, although it is our destined goal, and is soon likely to be in sight, has yet to be won, and before it is won we have no sanctions of which we can make use like a Government. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example. But even if we had a Government of our own, it could not rightly, or even successfully, compel large sections of the people to give up the exercise of any right unless it provided for them corresponding facilities in some other direction.

COW-KILLING.

The question of cow-killing is an instance in point. I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so selflessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Musalmans, which was their Khilafat, so that this grateful community which had learnt from its Scriptures that there

could be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was, however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognised religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim ENTENTE and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But, much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued, or, at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beef in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who "eat corn with corn;" and Rampur wags say: "Let there be meat, even if it be a dog's." When following the fashion of British Indian Municipalities Rampur also closed many meat shops and opened in their place a central Meat Market, it was found difficult to cope with the demand for beef, and so disastrous proved the results of a keen competition for the reduced supply that the Markeet, as it used to be called, was now descriptively rechristened MARPEET? In the case of this class of Musalmans the use of beef is at present a more or less acutely felt economic necessity.

The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beef. I am far from desiring that the cost of living should be still further increased for any section of this impoverished land, not excluding my own community which is admittedly one of the poorest; but I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindus, and that if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day. Even now we can encourage goat and sheep breeding in order to save the cow, but when we can frame our Budgets for a Swaraj Government it should be a comparatively easy matter to utilise a considerable

portion of the savings from Military expenditure for the same purpose. Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of its cherished rights and strongly-entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

ADJUSTMENT OF COMMUNAL SHARES IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

I have already explained to you what I think about the main cause of communal quarrels and the share of the educated classes in misleading the masses and using them in order to serve their personal ambitions. But matters like cow-killing and processions with music are not the only things that provide sources of friction. The adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions, local, provincial and All-India, and in the administration also, gives rise to bitter communal dissensions, and here it is clearly impossible to shift the blame on the masses. Once more personal ambitions well or ill disguised as communal interests play a great part, and specious phrases, such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are used to cover the injustice intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucrats are mercilessly exposed by the selfsame people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus, I am compelled to say that the intelligence of the few can never be a proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may, however, be that even where the motives are pure they are none the less suspect. That, friends, is our 'karma', the legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down such reputations. In politics as in business credit has first to be established, and a good balance-sheet and a moderately good dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much further on the road to Liberty and Self-Rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they were being invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to allow us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done

without it; and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and trying to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us, is poor business.

The Lucknow Compact which forced the hands even of the bureaucracy and compelled it to agree to such poor Reforms as have been doled out to India would in all likelihood suffice for the present for such of us as have decided to enter the Legislatures; and even if it does not, this should spur us on, to quicken the pace and try to reach our national destination of Swaraj all the earlier so that we may re-adjust communal shares in representative bodies. Friends, let me tell you frankly that I do not consider it likely that for some time yet we can afford to dispense with separate electorates. But I can assure you no one would rejoice more than myself on the day that the minorities themselves announced that they needed no such protection. It may perhaps help you to judge of my bonafides in this matter if I tell you that I had strongly urged the adoption of the Indian plan for the protection of the Christian minorities in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey known as Armenia.

But two intermediate steps may be taken before we abolish separate electorates altogether. The first is that the minorities should be free to elect any Indian as their representative. I shall deem it a great honour the day a non-Muslim minority elects me in preference to its own members to represent it in the national assembly. And I know of no Muslim to whom I could give my vote with greater confidence than to that great Khilafatist, Mahatma Gandhi.

Another step that we could well take would be the progressive creation of mixed electorates, gradually to replace separate electorates. Some of you may perhaps remember that I had opposed the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali who did not wish to risk any seat by agreeing to the retention of some mixed electorates, and wanted safe, even if fewer, seats for the Musalmans when the Minto-Morley Reforms were being discussed. As inter-communal relations improved the number of seats thrown open for contest in mixed electorates may be increased and those allotted to separate electorates decreased, till all come to be contested in mixed territorial electorates. The same policy should be adopted in throwing administrative posts open from communal to general competition.

All the foregoing considerations have to be kept in view in dealing with the composition of local bodies where, although the issues may often be petty, the passions of the people concerned are more liable to be excited.

A sad enough confirmation of this is furnished by the unfortunate dissensions in the Punjab over the distribution of municipal seats. The conditions in that province sometime; make me wonder whether Jallianwallah Bagh and the Crawling Lane are really situated in the Punjab.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS [COCANAÑA MENTAL MYOPIA.

In the short passage which I quoted in the earlier part of this address from another address of mine, delivered as long ago as in 1904, I had warned my audience against placing any reliance on the "misleading unity of opposition," and I would be the last person to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government, and if Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. And yet I am compelled to remind both Hindus and Musalmans who complain so bitterly to-day of one another's injustice that I know of nothing more difficult for either to endure from the other than the cold-blooded decision taken by General Dyer to shoot and to shoot strong at Jallianwallah Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It seems to me that we in the North suffer from a mental myopia, and as we move forward our sufferings are left behind, and gradually recede into obscurity, so that even at a very short distance of time the troubles of to-day blot out all recollection of the terrors of yesterday. And what is worse, each community remembers only that which it has itself suffered, retaining in its memory no record of the sufferings it had itself caused to others.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE BADMASHES.

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The BADMASHES belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is grist that comes to the mill. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpatrai from his American exile during the War when Hindu monied classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim BADMASHES. There was great danger of intercommunal strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the monied classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans. This has always to be borne in mind, particularly when there are not only the two contending parties but a third as well, which laughs just as heartily as we fight and abuse one another. Dr. Tagore has spoken a great deal since the outbreak of rowdyism in the North on the subject of inter-communal quarrels; but the reports of his lectures made me doubt a little whether he remembered what he wrote on the same subject when similar rowdyism, but more deliberate and previously planned, had broken out over cow-killing in Behar in 1917. He

happened to be travelling in a compartment shared with him by a British military officer who sneered at Indian aspirations and asked the Poet how his fellow-countrymen could talk of Swaraj when he a foreigner had to be called in every now and then to take his troops to the disturbed areas and keep the peace between Indians of different faiths. Then, at least, the Poet remembered that there was a third who laughed while we suffered, and reminded the British officer of his existence. The latter asked whether there were no such quarrels before the advent of the British, and the Poet admitted their previous existence as well but he was then prompt to point out that there was one difference. They quarrelled even then, but they did not let many suns go down upon their wrath because the moment they recovered their lost tempers they also recollected that they had to live together for better for worse, and since life would be infinitely dull without more or less friendly intercourse, the sooner they made up their differences and became friends again the better. But ever since the TERTIUS GAUDENS had come on the scene such quarrels had become more frequent and such reconciliations fewer and farther between.

THE HAND OF ESAU AND THE VOICE OF JACOB.

European husbands and Indian wives have a horror of that triangular family life in which the third side is represented by the mother-in-law. Imagine then the blessed state of that union in which the mother-in-law is not only a permanent feature of family life, but in which she alone runs the household. And worse than all, the mother-in-law that makes each of us pine for single blessedness combines two distinct natures in one person, and with ever ready sympathy consoles either party, as the occasion demands, and, better still, condemns the other, in the joint role of the mother of both! There would indeed be matter for laughter if we had only sense enough not to be the dupes of this double-dealing mother-in-law. But when the moment comes when a cow is killed by a Musalman in a provocative manner, or a noisy procession is taken out by a Hindu in front of a mosque where prayer may be going on, we are ready to rush at one another's throats forgetting that Musalmans have never been known to be wanting when it was their own co-religionists that had to be denounced to the Government as seditious and rebels, and that Hindus have had no better record of communal cohesion in similar circumstances. Our own sufferings have taught us that there is never a lack of one's co-religionists to do all the dirty work that may be required of them, and when a Musalman is so ready to hurt a brother Muslim, or, for that matter, the entire Muslim community, why need we be surprised if a Hindu is employed to do the same? No, friends, like BADMASHES, traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own. Some of you must have read Labour's denunciation of "International Finance." We have even better reason to denounce "Inter Communal

Goondalism." A Musalman may throw beef during the night into a temple or break an idol, and yet the Muslim community may be just as innocent of this provoking sacrilege as the Hindu community itself; and in similar circumstances the Hindu community may be wholly blameless even though a Hindu certainly threw pork into a mosque or desecrated the Holy Quran.

But even more clear than this is the case of a Muslim Minister who may have shown favouritism towards Musalman in the matter of patronage, and of a Hindu Minister similarly showing undue favour to Hindus. Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. And yet the people of a province that has still to stop the pensions of a Dyer and an O'Dwyer are prepared to co-operate with those who insist on paying for Indian murder out of Indian funds, and to cease to co-operate with their neighbours and fellow-sufferers, only because a Minister who happens to belong to the community of latter d s-penses such petty patronage as the reforms empower him to do in a manner that does not meet with their approval. After this one wonders what Non-Co-operation means. When the Congress publicly is welcoming Indians who resign their posts, even though it thinks it is perhaps too much just yet to call upon them to resign, there are people who call themselves Congressmen but forget all that Mahatma Gandhi had taught them of Non-co-operation only because a Minister in their province is giving a few more petty posts to members of his own community than they think he ought to do. Friends, it is not a little embarrassing to me that this Minister happens to be a co-religionist of mine; but believe me, I would have felt even more ashamed than I now feel embarrassed if the complaint about such petty posts had come from my co-religionists. Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib for whose speedy and complete recovery we all pray, has related to me what unspeakable shame he felt when co-religionists of his and mine had the hardihood to show some scratches on the walls of the mosques at Multan and some broken pitchers in justification of their counter-claim that if Hindu temples had been destroyed their own mosques did not altogether escape.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH MOTHER.

Let me add that I should never have mentioned this had I wanted to complain about the Hindu attitude in the matter. I have done so because I feel certain that the Muslim mentality does not seem to be any better, and neither community is above these petty considerations. But even if the Musalmans had been any better I would not have complained of the Hindus, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for a member of one community to rebuke the members of another. That task must be left to its own members. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every

rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of his playmates, and, of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against own child and rebukes him; and if he still persists in his complaint, he is told not to make such unsociable creatures his playmates any more. The street which is usually the common playground is thenceforward declared beyond the bounds. But solitude begins to pall upon our virtuous young friend, and a little irritation begins to purge his playmates of all their sins so that by second or third day they are completely absolved, and he asks and secures, his mother's permission to play with them once more, though not before he is told that he is not to come to her with the tale of his undeserved sufferings. And this is the way that peace is secured. But, alas, I have seen foolish mothers as wise as these, and perhaps the former constitute a majority. At the moment their young hopeful comes to them for sympathy and, worse, for effective support, they shed motherly tears of deep anguish over him, and when they have exhausted one emotion they make use of another and, going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to their little angel, bitterly complain of him, and drop not a few hints that his upbringing has evidently been neglected. This leads to still plainer hints from the other side that the complainant was a devil incarnate, and that with such elements to bring him up it was not altogether the poor creature's fault. And then the fray begins. The big guns of abuse are sent at a gallop, and long range howitzers which leave none scot-free to the seventh generation are brought into action. Then appears the male auxiliary, and if he is equally devoid of common-sense and equally jealous of his *izzat* he opens fire instantly with something that shatters the *izzat* of the adversary for ever. Thus when the other male auxiliary rushes up to the scene of action on hearing the news of this bombardment, he calls a truce to this woody warfare, but, like the practical creature that he is, he promptly breaks the truce of the other male. And it is a lucky quarter of the town if hostilities remain confined to the families directly concerned. The commentary on all this is furnished by the action of the brave young barbarians with whom hostilities had commenced walking arm-in-arm to enjoy another game of 'gilli-danda' or 'kabaddi' just as the police may be marching the Big Four off to the lock-up!

It is such experiences as these which have taught us that the best method of settling intercommunal quarrels is neither to advocate the cause of your community, as in my time I have often done, nor even to pose as an arbitrator with an open and a judicious mind, but to earn the abuse of your own community. And since my brother and I have received an earnest of this already, I feel satisfied that not only am I qualifying myself for the office of a peace-loving patriot, but that I may begin to entertain hopes that the two communities will soon be reconciled. After this, need I say!

recommend this course of "political exercises" to all my friends of every community ?

SANGHATAN

Having explained my own attitude at such length I do not think I am called upon to say much about the Sanghatan. I have certainly never publicly opposed it, and if anyone thinks so he is mistaken, and must have been misled by some ill-reported speech or interview. This is entirely an affair of my Hindu brethren, and if they think they need a Sanghatan they should be allowed a perfectly free hand in the matter. Every community is entitled to undertake such social reform as it needs, and if the Sanghatan is organised to remove untouchability and to provide for the speedy assimilation of the Antyaj and their complete absorption into Hindu society, I must rejoice at it both as a Musalman and as a Congressman. Ever since the Congress at Nagpur called upon the Hindu delegates "to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability" and "respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes," this question has enlisted the direct interest and sympathy of the Congress. I remember very well that towards the closing months of the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was making the removal of untouchability the test of the Hindus, yearning for Swaraj, and if orthodox Hindu religious bodies have now seriously decided to make the required reform in Hinduism it is bound to rejoice the hearts of that large-hearted Hindu and of all his followers.

But I cannot help recalling that this matter remained in abeyance for a considerable time, and that it was not taken up with any great zeal until after the tragic events in Malabar had caused some months later a wave of indignation and resentment to sweep over the distant Punjab, and Multan Hindus had themselves suffered from the unruly passions of the Muslim mob. It is this combination of circumstances which causes uneasiness to many of those who yearn for the unification of India and know how little weight our recently achieved unity can just yet sustain. A broken limb which has just come out of a steel frame should not be too severely strained. We may not believe every suspicion or rumour, but we must not overlook their potency for mischief if they are not quickly removed or disproved ; and there is no doubt that people are busy creating the suspicion that the removal of untouchability is not intended to result in the absorption of the suppressed classes into Hindu society but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affrays. This being so, I ask if there is no ground for the uneasiness of Mahatma Gandhi's followers who have been sedulously taught, in the words of our resolution at Nagpur, "to lay special emphasis on NON-VIOLENCE being an integral part of the Non-Co-operation Resolution," and to invite the attention of the people to the fact that "NON-VIOLENCE in word and deed is

as essential between the people themselves as in respect of the Government," and, finally, that "the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Cooperation." If in removing the reproach of untouchability we give cause to the world to reproach us with adding to pre-existing violence, will it not sadden the heart of the Mahatma? Friends, let us befriend the suppressed classes for their own injured sakes and not for the sake of injuring others or even avenging our own injuries.

Another feature of the Sanghatan movement is the increase of interest in physical culture. This is all to the good, and if flabbiness and cowardice can be removed from any section of the Indian people their is cause only for joy. Here, too, however, there arises the question of the spirit, and I am sincerely glad that the frank discussions at Delhi last September gave an opportunity to Pandit Motilal Mohan Malaviya to proclaim to the world that he himself favours the creation of common AKHADAS in which young men of all communities can take their share. As for the protection of life and property and—I regret that I should have to add—the honour of our sisters, he again proclaimed his original intention that common territorial Civic Guards should be formed. It was only because he was told that the Hindu Sabha by which his motion was being discussed could not constitutionally bind other communities that he altered his resolution and agreed to the creation of Hindu Guards.

THE SANGHATAN OF THE CONGRESS CONCILIATION COMMITTEE

But in entire agreement with Hindu leaders the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee recommended certain resolutions to the Congress for adoption on all these subjects, and since they were immediately passed by the Congress let us now see that we give full effect to them. To prevent the possibility of disunion we have, in the first place, to establish at the headquarters of every district, under the supervision of the District Congress Committees, and in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations, mixed Committees for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts. In case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, they would endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement, and would encourage the people, in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint, and to refer the matter to such Committees for redress of their grievances, instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. I have since then realised with grief and pain that in some districts the Congress Committees have ceased to function, and that Congress workers have in some cases themselves taken a leading part in exciting inter-communal hostility. This would necessitate for some time at least the formation of supervisory bodies to check the work of the District

Committees and to be a substitute for them in areas in which such Committees have not been formed. A permanent Provincial and a similar National Conciliation Board also seem to me to be called for, and had such Boards been in existence perhaps they could have averted unfortunate collisions in some localities. These Boards could perhaps be utilised also for making enquiries into similar incidents that occur in spite of all our precautions, and, if necessary, to apportion the guilt between the communities concerned. Let us be ready with our machinery, and if the people know that we mean to stamp out such rowdiness and to maintain peace, security and inter-communal friendship, there is little likelihood of our having to sit in judgment upon contending communities.

CIVIC GUARDS.

In the next place the Congress resolved at Delhi that its local Committees be instructed to form and maintain, under their own supervision and control, local Corps of Civic Guards (open to all communities), throughout the country, for the maintenance of peace and order and for the performance of other civic duties. Local Committees of the Congress were also to be instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture and to provide necessary facilities for this purpose so that our people may be enabled to undertake their self-defence. I have heard of communal DALS and AKHADAS, but I fear the local Committees have not yet had sufficient time to organise Congress Corps of Civic Guards and open Congress akhadas. I, however, know of one School of Physical Culture at Ajmer which sent some of its members to the Delhi Congress, and while pleased with their physical development. I rejoiced still more when I learnt that, in spite of much persuasion to throw in their lot with their community during the unfortunate affray there and indulge in partisan violence, these young men remained wholly non-violent and refused to take sides. Can anyone say after this that the Congress exercises no influence? Wherever we have men like our Arjunlal Sethiji, Maulana Moinuddin and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, we may confidently look forward to the maintenance, or, at least, the earliest possible restoration, of peace. Dr. Hardikar has, I am happy to say, interested himself in the creation of Volunteer Corps, and, let me confess, friends, that even to-day when I am presiding over the Congress I feel I would be more in my element if I were working in Dr. Hardikar's place. If only the Government knew how necessary is the formation of volunteer corps of Civic Guards to keep our crowds even more peaceful than they already are and far more orderly and self-restrained, it would not dream of using its Criminal Law amendment Act against them and their organisers, provided, of course, it too desired peace and order to prevail in the land. In this matter I have a personal end to serve also. Travelling as constantly as I do, and attending mass meeting by the dozen, and being unfortunately only too often carried in processions, I feel the need of such Corps more than the stay-at-homes among us, and I am

ften tempted to take in hand the local volunteers attending on such occasions, forgetting for the moment that no man can attend to his own funeral!

SENSE OF HONOUR OF OUR BADMASHES.

But let me say one word on the subject of the protection of the honour of our women before I take leave of the Sanghatan question, and let me preface my last word on the subject with the admission that it is not really mine but my wife's. At Almora, where she was addressing a ladies' meeting composed mainly of her Hindu sisters, he said that it in a place such as Almora, where Musalmans form a very insignificant minority, she found that an anti-Muslim riot had broken out, and her male relations were not available to help her to protect her own or her daughter's honour, she would unhesitatingly appeal to the first Hindu as to a brother even if she knew him to be a badmash, and ask him to take her and her children under his personal protection. She said she had enough confidence in the sense of honour even of India's badmashes and in their 'sportsmanship' so to speak, and I doubt if there are many badmashes in India on whom such a personal appeal of a sister in distress will fail to have any effect. Friends, trust disarms even wickedness and succeeds where six-chambered revolvers fail and Shakespeare knew human nature better than some of us seem to do when he wrote:

"There is a soul of goodness in things evil."

I cannot do better than to appeal to my sisters to teach us to trust each other more than we do at present, and by their own courageous confidence develop in the worst of us that God-given 'soul of goodness.'

SHUDDHI

Another movement that has affected Hindu-Muslim relations is Shuddhi. I myself believe in a missionary religion, and by a missionary religion should be taken to mean one in which, in the words of Professor Max Muller, the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all the members of the human family. Christianity and Buddhism as well as Islam are known to be missionary religions, but Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism are generally regarded as non-missionary.

Now, this has been my complaint for a long time against Hinduism, and on one occasion, lecturing at Allahabad in 1907, I had pointed out the contrast between Musalmans and Hindus by saying that the worst that could be said of a Muslim was that he had a tasteless mess which he called a dish fit for kings, and wanted all to

share it with him, thrusting it down the throats of such as did not relish it and would rather not have it, while his Hindu brother who prided himself on his cookery, retired into the privacy of his kitchen and greedily devoured all that he had cooked, without permitting even the shadow of his brother to fall on his food, or sparing even a crumb for him. This was said not altogether in levity; and, in fact, I once asked Mahatma Gandhi to justify this feature of his faith to me. It will be strange, then, if to-day, when there are evidences of a missionary zeal in the activities of my Hindu brethren, I should resent their efforts in spreading their faith. More than that, if the Malkana Rajputs are in reality so unfamiliar with Islam as to be taken for Hindus, Musalmans must thank Hindu missionaries for so forcibly reminding them of their own duty to look to the condition of millions of Musalmans whose knowledge of Islam is as defective as their practice of its rites is slack.

Both communities must be free to preach as well as practice the tenets of their respective faiths. There are competing types of culture in the world, each instinct with the spirit of propagandism, and I hope we live in an age of conscious selection as between ideal systems. We cannot surely wish to practice that wasteful, and, at best, a precarious, elimination of "false doctrine" by actual destruction of those who hold it. I hope the age of the Spanish Inquisition has gone for ever, and no one would think of abolishing heresy by wiping out the heretic. Progress is now possible along the more direct and less painful path of conversion. But it must be the result of the exercise of the power of rational choice, and the man whose conversion we seek must be free to choose his faith. What true Muslim could be satisfied by the kind of "conversion" which some fanatical Moplahs are believed to have effected during the period of the Malabar troubles by forcibly depriving some Nairs of their tufts of hair indicating their Hindu faith? No better in the sight of God is that outward conformity which is forced upon a person by bringing undue worldly pressure to bear upon him.

Allegations of such pressure by zemindars and money-lenders and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding area have been made and denied, and counter-allegations have been made. This cannot but react unfavourably on national unity; and when over a very small matter the decision to put a stop to all demonstrative and inflammatory methods of mass conversion and reclamation was given up, the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee at Delhi recommended to the Congress a resolution which was duly adopted, that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such a religious object is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices. Every political party in the West is, or, at least,

pretends to be, jealous of its honour, and willingly consents to have a Corrupt Practices Act passed by the Legislature. We who pride ourselves on our greater spirituality must be truly jealous of our reputations, and a national body like the Congress is a proper authority to advise all communities in this matter, if not to enforce a Corrupt Practices Act as part of the unwritten law of the nation. My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye much more on the next decennial Census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them.

ABSORPTION OR CONVERSION

The quarrels about ALAMS and PIPAL trees and musical processions are truly childish; but there is one question which can easily furnish a ground for complaint of unfriendly action if communal activities are not amicably adjusted. This is the question of the conversion of the Suppressed Classes if Hindu society does not speedily absorb them. The Christian missionary is already busy and no one quarrels with him. But the moment some Muslim Missionary Society is organised for the same purpose there is every likelihood of an outcry in the Hindu Press. It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organise a Missionary Society on a large scale for the Conversion of the Suppressed Classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement with leading Hindu gentlemen and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim Missionaries could respectively work, each community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time if necessary an estimate of the numbers it is prepared to absorb or convert. These estimates would of course be based on the number of workers and funds each had to spare, and tested by the actual figures of the previous period. In this way each community would be free to do the work of absorption and conversion, or rather, of reform without chances of collision with one another. I cannot say in what light my Hindu brethren will take it and I place this suggestion tentatively in all frankness and sincerity before them. All that I say for myself is that I have seen the condition of the 'kali paraj' in the Baroda State and of the Gonds in the Central Provinces and I frankly confess it is a reproach to us all. If the Hindus will not absorb them into their own society, others will and must, and then the orthodox Hindu too will cease to treat them as untouchables. Conversion seems to transmute them by a strong alchemy. But does this not place a premium upon conversion?

THE DUTY OF THE PRESS.

Once more the best and surest remedy is a change in the spirit of proselytisation; but that cannot be expected with a Press so unrestrainedly partisan as we have to-day in parts of India. I am

myself a journalist, and you all know that I have undergone some little suffering for the sake of securing the freedom of the Indian Press. At least, I can claim the honour, if honour it be, to have figured in the leading case under the late lamentable Press Act, and it was I who started this fox even if I could not be at the kill. The removal of these external fetters makes it all the more necessary that we should exercise greater restraint than before over ourselves. But what I have seen of the Vernacular Press in the Punjab makes me apprehend that if it is not checked by the combined efforts of all Congressmen it will make us sigh for the resurrection of that dead and damned piece of bureaucratic legislation. Not that the bureaucracy would find much in our Punjab papers to which it would be inclined to apply the provisions of the Press Act even if it were resurrected, for in the estimation of the bureaucrat the offence punishable under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code is not to be named in the same breath with that punishable under section 124-A of that Code. And even though the Press Act is no more, the Penal Code and the Civil Courts, where damages can be claimed by officials financed by the Government for alleged defamation, serve the Government well enough. But the nation remains wholly unprotected, and it is up to us not to leave it so exposed. It was I who strongly urged the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee last September to recommend to the Congress a resolution on the subject of the Press. The Congress was asked to instruct its Working Committee to issue a manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and in commenting upon them. It was asked to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude which might prove detrimental to the best interests of India and which might embitter the relations between different communities. It was also recommended to the Congress that its Working Committee might be instructed to appoint in each province a small Committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from following such a course of action, and that if, in spite of this friendly advice, no useful results were achieved, these Committees should prohibit such newspapers. Even after this they did not alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen was to be declared in the last resort. The Congress adopted this resolution also, but I fear its executive has not yet had time to carry out the instructions issued by the Congress. The most important work that we have to do apart from this, of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity, is to organise an adequate permanent establishment for the Congress and its Provincial and Local Committees, for it is no use passing Resolutions in the Congress which cannot be attended to by the honorary executive for lack of a paid, permanent establishment.

Friends, you may perhaps say I have taken up too much of your time in describing and detailing what the Congress did at Delhi and have hardly any proposals to place before you to-day. My answer is that you need few fresh proposals if you are determined to carry out those which you have already accepted. At Delhi we were able to proclaim to the world that we were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that we were resolved to remain united. That itself cleared the air to a great extent; but this was not all. We had provided remedies essentially sound in principle for our national ills; only we have not so far had time to use them. We spent perhaps too much time in examining, analysing and criticising the resolutions we had passed at Delhi, and a large section of Congressmen has been kept busy by the elections. Unless you adopt other measures to restore the national unity, it will be the duty of your executive to carry out the measures already adopted. But your executive will fail to accomplish anything of lasting value unless it has your ungrudging support and active assistance. In fact, you are your own most effective executive, and as your servant specially nominated by you for the year that is now commencing, I appeal to you to assist me in carrying out your own orders.

To the Indian Press I would address my most earnest appeal urging the Press to rise to the height of the occasion and not to disappoint the high expectations of one who is himself a journalist. When I was recently at Bijapur again and for the first time visited its famous dome, a friend who was as deeply impressed as myself by that wonderful pile, asked me in a whisper right across the dome if Europe with all its boast of superiority had a whispering gallery such as that of the Gol 'Gunbad'. It is no doubt a most astonishing experience to be able to hear distinctly across such a great space everything that is whispered, and the nine echoes heard in that gallery are equally remarkable. My friend was for the moment living the brilliant past of Bijapur over again and felt inordinate pride in the achievements of his Muslim ancestors. It was no doubt a great shock to him when I whispered back that the Whispering Gallery of Europe was even more marvellous. And then I told him that Europe's Whispering Gallery was the Press, its Fourth Estate! Every lie softly whispered in the privacy of the Editor-Proprietor's sanctum was shouted across all the continents, increasing in pitch and volume with every reverberation till it ended in the united shriek of hundreds of millions, leaving no chance for poor tonguetied Truth to be heard. And yet it is just as easy to make the world resound with the thunderpeals of Truth as with the shrieks of Falsehood, and it is for the Indian Press to choose whether it will serve as the Whispering Gallery of Truth or of Falsehood.

SWARAJ AND FOREIGN AGGRESSION

Before I take final leave of the Hindu-Muslim question I wish to declare that if India wins Swaraj it will satisfy all the religious

requirements of a Muslim in India. Swaraj, Sarv-Raj, or the Raj of all, implies Swadharma, and must imply that in an Eastern country. It is not therefore necessary that a Musalman should sit on the throne of the Mughals at Delhi, and we have all seen how the greatest Muslim State has ceased to have a Royal Throne and has converted itself into a Republic. Every true Muslim looks back with pride upon the Thirty Years of the Truly Guided Khalifas during which the Successors of the Prophet and the Commanders of the Faithful (with whom Allah was pleased) were the Chief Servants of the Commonwealth. Islam spread over the major portion of the civilised world and its empire extended over all the continents of the known world; but no Muslim holds dear the memory of Islam's later conquests and expansion as that of the first thirty years when it was the pride of the Muslim envoy to tell the envoys of the Byzantine and Iranian empires who had been boasting of the despotic power of their respective rulers that the Muslims had themselves appointed their ruler and would depose him just as readily if he acted against the Law of God. Victory has not been snatched from the jaws of defeat and despair by the valiant and God-fearing Turks to no purpose, and I feel confident that once they are free from the distractions inevitable after the victories both of war and peace they will revive with God's assistance the glories not of the Omayyide or Abbasid Empire, but of the first Thirty Years of the Khilafat before there were any kings or dynasties.

I have my own views of the possible adjustment of the relations of all Muslim States and the Khalifa, but this is not the occasion to state them. It would suffice if I state here that Musalmans can satisfy all their religious requirements no matter who is their secular sovereign so long as they recognise that "there is no governance but God's", and that "Him alone are we commanded to serve". As in every religion, there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do, and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lies a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect one of these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend, or whether he is Muslim or a non-Muslim. So long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim is a subject of a Muslim or of a non-Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay even if the Khalifa himself, commanded him to disobey God, he must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Caesar what he could not render unto a Muslim Caesar because it was due only to God. This being so, I cannot understand

why there need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj and Swadharma government.

As for the bogey of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan attacking India with the assistance of Indian Muslims, it is the creation of fear and cowardice, and can only be laid at rest by courage and self-confidence. I must say it did my heart good to hear my esteemed friend Pandit Jawaharlal say, "Let us win Swaraj and we shall see who comes." We shall certainly be ready to meet all comers, and it will be no easy matter to snatch away Freedom from the hands that have succeeded in winning it back after a century-and-a-half of slavery. As for myself, if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

AFGHANISTAN.

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921, which had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Betul gaol to the Viceroy, had not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Ameer must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of an Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow-countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant, no matter how weak.

"AND THE FOURTH WOULD KNOCK ME DOWN!"

Friends, you will forgive me if I relate a story here which seems so applicable to our own situation. I have to preface it with a special apology to my Banya friends because, whosoever may have been the author of the story, he had certainly lived in an age much anterior to ours when the most courageous leader that India has known in recent times happens to be no other than a Banya and one of his chief lieutenants and lovers is "my brave Banya" as I call my dear friend Seth Jamn Lal Bajaj. The story is that four travellers happened to meet each other on the road and agreed to

travel together for safety's sake. It happened that after dusk they were met by some highwaymen who demanded the surrender of all their belongings. Then they discovered that their assailants were also only four. One of the travellers who was a Rajput whispered to his companion who was a Pathan that he could successfully tackle the biggest of the highwaymen. Thereupon the Pathan assured the Rajput that, for his part, he too could manage to deal with the next biggest. Thus encouraged the third of the travellers who was a middle-aged Brahmin said : "And I could knock down the third." Then came the turn of the fourth who was a Banya, and equally promptly came his declaration : And the fourth would knock me down !" This led the Brahmin to apprehend that in that case he might be required to tackle not one but two, and he decided to give in. The Pathan too gave it in for fear he might have to deal with three assailants, and, finally the Rajput also surrendered because obviously he was no match for all the four. And all this because one traveller out of the four had felt just as convinced that the fourth highwayman would knock him down as his three companions were convinced that they could knock down one highwayman apiece !

NEED OF COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE.

May I not ask you, friends, if it is not now time when we have a Banya for our brave leader for all of us to give up such conviction of defeat before the battle is joined? Why, only recently a Delhi paper published the remarkable discovery of its secret investigator that a Delegation consisting of two aged Arabs and one young one who have come from Palestine with the permission of the government to raise funds from Indian Musalmans for the repair of the Masjid-ul-Aqsa and the Qubbat-us-Sakhra at Jerusalem is the vanguard of an invading force of Arabs ! Not with such fears and suspicions and tremors can Freedom be won. This, friends, is the way to lose even the little we have. It reminds me of the curse of the Lord on Israel which is recorded in Deuteronomy :

The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed and thou perish quickly.

Thy Lord shall curse thee to be smitten before thine enemies, thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them ; and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

And thy carcass shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto beasts of the earth and no man shall fray them away.

The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart :

And thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways : and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.

Thou shalt build a house, and thou shalt not dwell therein, thou shalt plant a vineyard and thou shalt not gather the grapes thereof.

Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.

The fruit of thine land and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always.

So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.

The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.

He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him; he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail.

Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed.

And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder and upon thy seat for ever.

THE TURKS' MESSAGE.

The duty of the Musalmans to-day is a double one. They owe a duty to themselves as Indians to secure freedom for themselves and for their posterity. India is no less their country than the Hindus, and even if the Hindus were to shrink from the sacrifices required in Freedom's battle, though they will certainly never do so, it would still be their duty to persevere and to say that they would win Swaraj for all India even if they received no aid from the rest of India. But as Musalmans too they are to secure Swaraj for their country. When I met the Turks in Paris, in Switzerland and in Rome they wondered how the same country that had despatched a large army, which included so considerable a proportion of Musalmans, to fight against them could also send a delegation like ours to plead for better terms for them after their defeat. When I solved this riddle for them by explaining the paradox that many of the Muslim warriors that were not afraid of the Turkish sword or the German gun and could pass months and years in those death-traps called trenches, were yet afraid of the policeman's truncheon and of police lock-ups and prison cells, my Turkish friends told me that in that case I must take the first boat back to India, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent their enslavement, I should go and break the fetters of my own countrymen. "We have beaten the English", they said, "on the soil of Turkey and in the Straits; but we could not keep at bay for ever your Indianordes that pressed us hard in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Once you are free and no Indian Muslim can any longer be driven to fight against the forces of the Khalifa. Both Turkey and Islam will be safe. It is your duty to us as well to yourselves that you first win freedom in your own country." But they added, "let not your Hindu and Sikh fellow-countrymen think that they owe a duty only to themselves and none to us. It is in order to keep them enslaved that Britain has forged such heavy chains for us."

AN EASTERN FEDERATION.

Friends, I am glad to hear that so many of my Hindu fellow-workers are thinking of establishing a relationship with other Eastern countries. Their political ideas have scaled the ramparts of the Himalayas and crossed the moat of the surrounding seas. They recognise that the freedom of every Asiatic nation helps their own freedom, and they contemplate the organisation of an Eastern Federation. The first step had already been taken by Mahatma Gandhi when at Amritsar he identified himself with the cause of the Khilafat. It would be a strange thing if while the Hindus set about organising an Eastern Federation, Indian Musalmans should cease to co-operate with them all because one newspaper correspondent realised in the suffering of the Musalmans at Saharanpur the tragic scenes enacted at Smyrna. Nothing could be more foolish and more absurd than this, and if the Turks ever came to hear of this comparison they would not feel an excess of gratitude for us.

A FINAL QUESTION TO THE MUSALMANS.

But one question and one only I shall ask those who point to the episode of Saharanpur—where no doubt it is the Hindus that have suffered most—as a sufficient reason to veer round from non-Co-operation to co-operation. And that question is this. Was there no British Government ruling in India when Musalmans had to undergo such unmerited sufferings? Was a Hindu administering the district or even a Non-Co-operating Muslim? Finally, was not the department of justice administered by a Musalman who had broken away from the community of which he used to be a great leader at one time and had co-operated with the foreign Government? These are not three separate questions, but one, viz, if neither the Government nor those Musalmans who co-operate with it were able to save the Musalmans of Saharanpur, what prospect is there of any greater safety for them if these conditions are perpetuated by our co-operation? I pause for an answer, but I fear I shall not get it.

In the meantime the Holy Land of Islam remains in the custody of non-Muslim mandatories. Five times a day every Musalman who offers his daily prayers with regularity turns his face towards the Ka'ba. While I was still in the Bijapur gaol a question occurred to me which I put into verse, and it still remains unanswered:

"His Ka'ba facing which we were daily offering prayers, what shall we say to Him how it was left under the enemy's control?"

THE BLOW RECALLED AFTER THE FIGHT.

Friends, I have said all that I could say on the Hindu-Muslim question and if after all this lengthy dissertation I leave any Hindu or Musalman still unconvinced of the necessity of co-operation

among ourselves and Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters, I can say no more and must acknowledge myself beaten. One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus can exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Musalmans entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another, and while the Musalmans must remove all doubts from the Hindu mind about their desire for Swaraj for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindus must similarly remove from the Muslim mind all apprehensions that the Hindu majority is synonymous with Muslim servitude. As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellow-countryman would be the slave-driver instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 millions of my co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1916 some Hindu complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj, that they were giving too much to the Musalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman: "You can never give the Musalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindus show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too great weakness in your dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

COUNCIL-ENTRY.

This was the main question to be dealt with at Delhi even though the Special Session was held in order to arrive at a settlement of the Council-entry question. I have devoted so large a portion of my address to it not only because of its importance, but also because happily the other is no longer a live issue. At Delhi at my solicitation the Congress removed the ban and permitted those who had no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the Legislatures or voting at the then forthcoming elections to do so, and suspended the propaganda in favour of the boycott of Council which had achieved such signal success three years previously. The

elections have been held, and it can, in my humble judgment, serve no useful purpose to re-open a question which kept us occupied in much sterile activity for more than a year and sorely tried our temper. I hold strong views on the subject of the triple boycott of Councils, law-courts and schools and colleges, and did not shrink from giving expression to them in strong, or, as my Swarajist friends complained, perhaps in too strong language in the course of the discussion in the Subjects Committee at Delhi. I hold the same views to-day, and would gladly give expression to them again in equally strong language if I could be convinced that it was necessary and in the best interest of the Congress and the country. But of this I am as little convinced as of the soundness of the Swaraj Party views and, on the contrary, I am fully convinced that no word should escape me which would estrange from the Indian National Congress a single Indian who has any national feeling. In fact, I desire to take a leaf out of the book of the late Lord Morley, whose recent death has removed from the world one who had shown both courage and resource in asking his fellow-countrymen also to do such justice to India as he himself was capable of doing, "Let us rally the Moderates."

THE MODERATES AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

I take no party view of the recent elections, and the franchise is far too restricted to read in them the judgment of the nation. But if one thing is more certain than another it is this, that India refuses to co-operate any longer with its foreign rulers. Many things have helped to disillusion those honest Nationalists who still held the opinions which many of us held as recently as four years ago. The discussions in the Imperial Council with regard to the status of Indians overseas have been so extensively advertised that it must be a very foolish fish that would still be deceived by the poor bait offered. South Africa where the Indian population still numbers 100,000 is adamant. The Imperial Govt. which cannot plead its impotence to interfere in the so-called "internal affairs" of free Dominions when Kenya and other Crown Colonies are concerned, cannot hold out any hopes of reversing its palpably iniquitous decision, and has only consented to hear India's case once more. But the other Dominions are "sympathetic" since sympathy cost so little, and even here they are not quite so optimistic where the Indians in British Columbia, of the "Komagata Maru" fame, still numbering some 1100 are concerned, though the rest of Canada, which has only a bare hundred, is disposed to be generous. I am prepared to give the fullest credit to the impassioned advocacy and highly emotional appeals of Dr. Sapru, and his victory has been complete. But, alas, he had aimed so low from the very outset that his victory leaves such of us as could not like him feel the heat of the encounter uncomfortably cold.

It reminds me of a friend who had left a lucrative enough post

and, making a new departure for an up-country Muslim graduate, had started business as a commission agent in Bombay. One day he met me with every show of exultation, and announced that he had closed the day with cent per cent profit in the transaction that had kept him fully so engaged. But when I asked for more details I learnt that my friend had sold a few dozen Japanese paper serviettes, and that the cent per cent profit would hardly pay the day's rent of his office! After long and weary years of strife the Imperial Council passed in 1921 a Resolution recognising the desirability of conceding equal status to Indians overseas, but Hamlet was acted with the part of the Prince of Denmark carefully cut out by General Smuts, the Imperial Dramatic Censor. And yet India was asked to rejoice over her cent-per-cent profits. However, as it happened the profits remained unrealised, and two whole years later the battle had to be fought again over the Imperial counter. There were doubts about the nature of the bargain, such as, whether payment was only desirable or necessary, and here the slim Boer General wanted to rescind the entire transaction. But luck has favoured the travelling agents of India again, even though there was much disagreement among them, and one of the two has made a discovery not less remarkable than that of Columbus inasmuch as he has discovered in the Boer General a skilfully disguised friend of India. We have secured cent-per-cent profits again, and a roving commission will go out to each of the partners in the other party's firm and by direct dealing ascertain what prospect there is of any payment. This, then, is the net gain. Dr. Sapru's travelling agents, no doubt some of the Great Unemployed, will have the great privilege of having direct dealings with the partners of John Bull, Sons & Co. Lest I may be suspected of belittling the results achieved, I quote the conclusion laboriously reached by the TIMES at the far end of its leading article on "India and the Commonwealth." "The spirit of sympathy", concludes the TIMES, "and of good-will expressed by the representatives of the British Government and of the Dominions Overseas, the sincere appreciation of the share of India in the Commonwealth—these are hardly less important to her than the practical recognition of her right to negotiate for herself with the other partners." Yes, Dr. Sapru and his royal companion have indeed secured "the practical recognition of India's right to negotiate for herself with the other partners" but when will the bargain be concluded and payment received, and what will be its amount?

Imperial Conferences will no doubt continue to succeed each other with great regularity, and the success of the Indian dependency each will be advertised more and more extensively. But it is too much for poor human nature to wait patiently and continue to hope while the Imperial stratification proceeds from the Archean or Pre-Cambrian stratum through all the Paleozoic, Mesozoic, Cainozoic strata or division in their true order of antiquity, and the long list of sub-division, such as the Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene.

before we come to the Pleistocene or Glacial and finally to the Post-Glacial or Human period. No honest Moderate would be so moderate as to be satisfied with this crawling pace of our Imperial progress, and no honest Liberal could be so liberal as to give unlimited time to England to do us bare justice, especially when they recognise as they must more and more clearly as each day passes, that a wrong system of education is fast paralysing us and robbing us of our youth and manhood.

When their disillusionment is just as complete as ours, the question will still have to be answered, "How far are they prepared to go?" Non-Co-operation has from the very outset required only minimum sacrifice from the maximum number, though even the minimum in the Post-Gandhiera far exceeds the maximum in most cases of the Pre-Gandhi period. But Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of Limited Liability. Dr. Sapru's advocacy may have been all that it could be, but what is there to follow it? Only "resolutions", petitions and protests, and at best a silly HARTAL to wind up with? If that is all, let us leave off this crazy pursuit of politics. Those whose ancestors have won freedom on the field of Runnymede or after the "crowning mercy" of Worcester or by razing the Bastille to the ground may play with politics. We have to yet win our Magna Carta and our Bill of Rights, and it is premature for us to treat politics as a Western pastime. For long we thought in terms of the Penal Code, and now we think we have advanced very far on the road of Reform if we think in terms of Dicey and of Erskine May. We forget that we have still to think in terms of History! I am prepared to admit that the Liberal gun is long enough. The length of the barrel, however, counts for little. It is the charge behind that matters. Once every Liberal or Moderate makes up his mind that patriotism must be to him as it was to every patriot in the world's history who won freedom for his country from a foreign yoke—a matter of unlimited liability, then—all is well. The Congress is his proper place even though he may at first proceed at a slow pace from force of habit. And it is just because I know that the leaders of the Swaraj Party are prepared to go to any length that I refused to be a party to driving them out of the Congress.

It is true many of the Swarajists have retained to this day something of their laboriously acquired Western mentality and revel in parliamentary discussions and debates. Many more who have willingly relinquished all thought of the use of force even for purposes of self-defence want the spice of this wordy warfare to make the insipid fare prepared at Bardoli piquant enough for their jaded palates. Many more still have not fully understood the almost unlimited possibilities of the charkha which must revolutionise Indian life while it frees us from economic slavery. Above all, the Swaraj party is the embodiment of the depression experienced by all India when Mahatma Gandhi, after having brought the country to the very door of Swaraj, suddenly had to declare that it

was unwise to force that door by resorting to mass Civil Disobedience, and that his plan of action must be changed from an offensive bold to the verge of audacity to a defensive which to those who did not know our generalissimo looked almost like a surrender. But, as I told the Mahatma when I was passing through Bardoli on my way from the Karachi gaol to the Bijapur gaol, his change of plan was out of his strength and not out of his weakness, and had he been left free for some weeks longer he would have changed the face of the whole situation. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned before the people had recovered from the first depressing shock of Bardoli, and although there were hundreds and thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands and millions, who loved him and felt the pang of separation, apparently there was none who could put a new life into the Bardoli programme and make full use of the weapon of offence which the Government had placed in Indian hands by treating the Mahatma as a felon. I have not sufficient data at my disposal to enable me to say whether the Mahatma was justified in listening to the despairing counsel of those who hastened to inform him that mass Civil Disobedience free from grave danger of violence was impossible after the Chauri-Chaura affair. But I do think Civil Disobedience free from such danger was possible immediately on the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and I would have deliberately disobeyed my chief and fought the Government with the weapon it had placed in my hand. No physician, as my brother says, is permitted to prescribe anything for himself when he is ailing, and as the Mahatma Gandhi was "buried alive" it was enough if we paid due regard to his creed of Non-Violence, without having to carry out his testamentary injunction with regard to the suspension of Civil Disobedience also. Had such a course been followed I doubt if the Swaraj party would have come into being.

FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE SWARAJ PARTY

Be that as it may, the existence of the Swaraj party cannot be ignored, whatever view we may have formed about its genesis. Its early beginnings were small enough, but the peregrinations of the Civil Disobedience Committee, which occupied the time, attention and energies of some of our best workers, also succeeded in diverting the attention of all from the work of construction, and drove many of the most zealous among our younger men into the group which sought to enter the Councils. It is an idle speculation now, except to the extent that it helps us to formulate a plan for future work, to estimate how the chances of this group would have been affected if the programme of constructive work had been pushed forward and the younger men had been kept busy. On the other hand, some of my Swarajist friends also want me to plunge into speculation and estimate how much greater would have been their success at the polls than it has already been if the Delhi self-denying ordinance

suspending our boycott propaganda had been issued at Gaya. I might answer them by suggesting another line of speculation based on characteristic self-conceit, viz, whether there would have been any Swaraj party in existence at all if I had been permitted to be with them at Gaya to dissuade them from following a course of such doubtful wisdom. But all this is idle talk now. The Swaraj party is there to-day, and even though it may be composed of some very dissimilar elements, it is undoubtedly strong enough in numbers to-day and has always been strong in the quality of its leadership. More than all else, it was permitted at Delhi to go to the polls on its own moral and religious responsibility. It has gone there and has achieved great enough success considering what forces were arrayed against it, how short a time it had in which to organise its own forces, and how greatly it was handicapped by the fact that some of its best members were disqualified from contesting the elections owing to their having undergone longer terms of imprisonment than those which do not affect eligibility. Then, too, electoral rolls were most defective, mainly perhaps because three years ago nobody but the Liberals cared for such things and until very recently even those who ultimately joined the Swaraj party had not finally made up their minds to contest the elections or to go to the polls. It is true a very large number of votes have been given not to the individuals that sought them, but to the Congress, and,—“Tell it not in Gath ; whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon”—to Mahatma Gandhi himself ! There are friends of mine whose distress at such things is very deep, and who consider it a sacrilege thus to take the name of the Mahatma in vain. I greatly sympathise with them, and certainly cannot say that I approve of such political methods. But it must be remembered that those to whom the people offered such votes were immeasurably nearer to Mahatma Gandhi than those who were opposed to them. Moreover, there were some among them who were inclined to sneer in a superior sort of way at a Mahatma so little versed in the affairs of this world as to pin his faith to the silly CHARKHA, which even our womenfolk had discarded in these advanced days. They thought that he was something of a bungler and a blunderer where finesse was required in dealing with the bureaucrats and with a Viceroy who was supposed to have out-Yankeed the Yankees during the War. Their election experiences must have convinced not a few of these men that the Mahatma's name is sill one to conjure with, and that whatever skill in finessing they may possess, their strength even in the Councils lies in the backing which the people who loved and revered the Mahatma were prepared to give to them as his followers and associates. This experience is a valuable asset to them, and the good-sense, restraint and dignity which their leaders have in the hour of their victory in full conformity with our expectations from them, make them a valuable element in the Congress. It is true we have no such expectations from their programme as they have themselves; but, while removing, where

really necessary, any idea that may be lurking in the people's mind that it is not the constructive programme but the Council that bring in Swaraj we must give to the Swarajists a perfectly free hand, and add to that our heartiest good wishes that they may succeed. We suspended at Delhi the exercise of our right to carry on a propaganda of Council-boycott, but we surrendered no principle. Nor are we prepared to do that to-day, as we shall no doubt be doing if we agree to accept any responsibility of guiding the Swarajists in the Councils. This we cannot do. Obviously, the Swarajists will not be able to spare as much time for the constructive work as those of us who have not to attend to Council duties; but I have satisfied myself that their responsible leaders intend to assist us to the best of their power and ability, and in this way strengthen their own hand also in the Councils. If they have to leave the Councils any later stage, the work that will have by then been done outside in their constituencies through our joint efforts will ensure this much, that no bureaucratic Cromwell could say of their exit that not a dog barked when they took their departure. And if, as a result of their labours in the Councils, Swaraj is achieved, I for one would certainly not refuse to accept it. If peace, harmony and good-will were needed at Delhi to preserve the great reputation of the Congress they are still needed to-day to enhance that reputation and to help us to carry out the constructive programme.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

It was in the interests of this programme that I interested myself in the settlement at which we arrived at Delhi, for a whole year had been all but wasted by the major portion of the provinces in mutual recriminations, and if Mahatma Gandhi's release was to be obtained not by appeals *AD MISERICORDIAM* but through our own efforts, it was necessary to resume the work to which the Mahatma had rightly pinned his faith. I did not at the time itself realise the full extent of the havoc wrought since his removal: but the few replies that I have received to my enquiries about the details of the work done are sufficient indication that through one cause or another little work has been done. It is true there are provinces like Gujrat the work of which does credit to my friend Srijut Vallabhai Patel and to the band of devoted workers that Mahatma Gandhi left to work under him. Few provinces could show anything like as good a record of educational work, and but for Gujrat, the Khadi produced in other provinces would have remained unsold too long. The great glory of the Mahatma, however, was not that he changed the face of Gujrat, but that he also changed the face of the whole of India. No province did he leave exactly where he had found it. Gujrat is even now preparing a surprise for those who think that no area could be fit for Civil Disobedience if the Mahatma's characteristically high standard of preparation was to be retained. But the example of Gujrat has not proved infectious enough, and we cannot afford to wrap ourselves up in self-sufficiency. The speed of the fleet

is the speed of the slowest boat, and there are, alas, too many slow boats in our fleet, though, thank God, all are still sea-worthy. I could not place before my No-Change friends sounder canons of criticism than "A No-Changer" writing in 'Young India' after Delhi has done.

There is a limit (he writes) beyond which reason and argument cannot go. Some conclusions are in the nature of action, and they go beyond the pale of pure rationality. Where reason fails to persuade, experience becomes the hard task-master. We realised that we had arrived at such a crisis. One year of argument and paralysis was tending to harden men in their Pharisaism and self-complacency. The testing time had come not only on the Swarajists, not only on the Centrists, not only on Mohamed Ali, but on us also, the No-Changers. We have to submit ourselves to the discipline of facts. Since the days of the Calcutta Special Congress, Gandhism had won all along the line: and we, Gandhites, have been in continuous peril of loose thinking and dragged effort. It is good for everybody to be beaten. If there is truth in us, the very castigation of defeat will lead us to examine ourselves anew and find strength. If, on the contrary, Gandhism has become in our hands a plea for lethargy and refusal to re-think the implications of fast-developing reality, we are not the true followers of our Chief, we are not worthy to be the custodians of his message to the world. Reality—that is the ultimate touchstone.

Yes, Reality is the ultimate touch-stone, the truest and the surest that ever existed, and Swarajists and No-Changers, and you and I, all of us, friends, shall be tested and measured by Reality. That is why I preach to you the gospel of work. It is not as easy a gospel to practise as it is easy to preach and that is why we have more critics than workers. But work well done furnishes an exhilarating experience which the sterile pleasures of criticism can never equal. As the Sanskrit poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry, says, "Little does the barren woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labours and less still of the indescribable joy of mother-hood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a free India be re-born.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME TO BE CARRIED OUT.

ref
the You will no doubt ask me what should be our work; and my early after the most careful consideration is that we cannot better we smuch-maligned Bardoli programme. If we continue to give up Co-o item of work on finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, both will never accomplish anything. Many people tell you Non-have eration has failed when they only mean that they, or we, or Rem have failed to rise to the height of our ideal. And yet, as I sach already told you, the steps proposed by the Mahatma are easy. lawymber what the commonest of common soldiers is prepared to schoice when you feel that you must re-start your practice as a er, or file your law-suit, or send your boy to a better-equi p.ool.

KHADI WORK AND WOMEN.

As for the man who cannot even wear khadi, it is no use taking

him into serious consideration. And yet he is not unpatriotic, nor hopelessly selfish, but only lazy and indolent. Well, he has got to be roused out of his indolence, and the best and the most unfailing agency for this is the womanhood of India. Whosoever may change and fall from the high ideal of our great chief, the women of India are true to him, true to the nation, and true to themselves. With a few expert men like Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Maganlal Bhai and Chaganlal Bhai Gandhi to assist and advise them and a full complement of book keepers and clerks, etc., our sisters should be able to take the entire charge of the Khadi work in every province and district. Men may go to goal, and men may come back, but the women of India should go on working our Khadi department for ever.

The other departments also be organised and the next in importance to Khadi is the department of National Education. I feel sorry that I did not press sufficiently hard at Bezwada, in 1921, for the creation of a Central Board of Education. But now a Central Educational Board and Provincial Boards must be created, and the education of our boys and girls must be seriously taken in hand. I need not go through the whole list of departments for we cannot afford to neglect any item of the Bardoli programme. But we must follow the plan of 1921, and, while working all simultaneously, we must concentrate on particular departments during particular periods of the next year.

THE PROVISION OF FUNDS.

But all this is idle talk without funds, and the provision of funds is one item which requires concentration all through the year. When the country knows that it is only by carrying out the Mahatma's programme of work that we can manufacture the key of Yerrowda gaol, and that no work is possible without sovereignty, it will not fail to respond to our call. But apart from large donations to be appealed for at some fixed time, we must tap permanent, though small, sources of revenue, and enable the poor to go on contributing their mites to the National Chest. Fixed monthly contributions must be arranged for and other similar means of securing the poor man's assistance at intervals and in ways suited to his convenience must be thought out in addition to a well-organised national 'drive' for securing at least as many members of the Congress as the number of Indians who have been enfranchised. It, however, we work with a will, a full crore should not prove too many.

PERMANENT SECRETARIATS AND DEPARTMENTAL ESTABLISHMENTS

And yet much as money may be necessary for working the Mahatma's programme, a powerful organisation is just as necessary to secure money. This cannot be in the main an organisation run by unpaid men. It is astonishing how we got on so long with our national work covering the whole area of this sub-continent with

a paid establishment hardly large enough for a single department in a single district. We are face to face with a strange situation. On the one side we need competent, zealous and thoroughly reliable workers to carry on the national work, and have not got them. On the other hand, we have an army of the unemployed, particularly the lawyers who have been so hard hit by the Non-Co-operation programme, and they are very far from being unemployable. It is time that we accepted the obvious and the only possible solution of this double difficulty. We may pay our workers only a living wages on the reduced scale of the era; but that living wage must be paid to those splendid workers who have made great sacrifices for the sake of the nation. Remember, a system that requires martyrs to work it gets worked in the next generation by cheats. And, in any case, even martyrs have to be fed and clothed before they quit this world: India is witnessing to-day the spectacle of greedy foreign servants clamouring like so many Oliver Twists for more when they have already had much more than even gluttony as a rule demands. The Indian Civil Servant, who is seldom Indian, or civil or a servant, already gets paid more than any class of public servant of similar merit anywhere else in the world. It is he who always sets the pace to members of other services and thus continues to drain the resources of one of the poorest countries in the world. And he is doing this again so soon after the last increase in his emoluments. And yet it is he who accuses Indians engaged in the service of the nation of dishonest practices. I have no doubt that the moment he learns that the Congress is asked to pay the poorest of poor wages to such national workers he and his supporters in the Press will commence their old game of vilifying men who are the truest servants of India. Those who receive their wages in hundreds will be assailed by those who receive them in thousands and yet serve India so poorly. But this is part of the day's work and we must not mind it.

This, to my mind, is the most urgent need of the Congress, and I trust you will take steps to create an efficient organisation which will carry on the work of the Congress year in and year out. A proper National Secretariat, if possible located in some central place like Delhi, similar Provincial Secretariats and District Offices must be organised, and work in these secretariats and offices must be properly differentiated into the various departments which we need to maintain. The Working Committee itself should be composed of men who are able to attend frequent meetings either at a central place, or wherever required by the exigencies of the moment.

Of course, we must see that all organisations are doing practical work which is capable of being checked and estimated, and, that expenditure is not allowed, after the initial month or thereabouts, to exceed revenue. I understand that the Salvation Army in England when it sends out workers to new centres pays them for a week's board and lodging in advance, and during that week they have

earn enough to pay their way in the following week. Later on, they are required to send a definite contribution to the Central Organisation. We shall have to follow some such system with regard to those of our workers who are engaged in enrolling Congress members. Once this machinery is set up, I feel confident the country can be roused again, and we shall be able to beat in 1924 the record of 1921. Remember, there is one great difference between now and 1921. Then the Mahatma was free to organise and control the work, but to-day, although we shall miss him greatly, his very absence from our midst should stimulate us to work with redoubled energy. What would Christianity be without the Cross and Islam without the Tragedy of Kerbala? As I have said before we have not yet made full use of our Cross. Friends, let us do it now if we bear any love towards our absent leader, and calling upon the nation to give us its full backing, free the country and break open the great Bastille which keeps Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of his disciples in chains.

THE SIKHS AND THE MAHARAJA SAHEB OF NABHA.

We have before us the example of our Sikh brothers whose courage, fortitude, and above all perfect non-violence excite my envy. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has been deposed and the words in which the head of this foreign Government proclaims to us his firm resolve to keep him out of his State are only so much veiled blasphemy.

The Moving Finger writes ; and having writ,
Moves on ; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

We hold no brief for the Maharaja Saheb ; but this much is certain, that even if all that his detractors say of him be true, he was not deposed for any such shortcomings, but for his virtues. I am myself the subject of an Indian Ruler and have had fairly intimate experience of several Indian States. I used to be approached very frequently by those friends who desired to see political reforms carried out in Indian States. But I used to put them off with the observation that the Indian States are our own, even though to-day they may prove far more unsafe for patriotic men than the rest of India. I used to add that once the rest of India had won Swaraj, Indian States would undergo a sea-change with astonishing rapidity. In the meantime it should be our policy not to rouse the suspicions of the rulers of these States, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity to prove to them that we are not unmindful of their difficulties nor indifferent to what they, too, have to suffer from this foreign bureaucracy. I did not know at the time that the Government would provide such an opportunity so soon. But now that it has been provided let us avail ourselves of it, for in doing so we also be

safeguarding the interests of religion. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has suffered at least partly, because he strongly sympathised with his co-religionists in their efforts to free themselves from the foreign bureaucratic incubus, and to reform their sacred Gurudwaras. And the Sikhs in their turn are suffering because they have had the courage to stand up for one of our Indian Rulers whom the bureaucracy desires to keep in perpetual dependence upon itself. But, as I have said before, the recent action of Government in declaring the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies is a blow aimed not only at those bodies, or at the entire Sikh community; it is a challenge to the entire nation. Each community that dares to live will be similarly dealt with if we shrink from accepting the challenge to-day, and it will only be a question, of whose turn at the tumbrils will come next?

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

We have already resolved to offer some assistance to our Sikh brethren so that we may not be guilty of indulging in lip-sympathy only. But something more than that is required. A better opportunity for Civil Disobedience at least on a provincial scale never presented itself since the arrest of the Mahatma; but it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that to organise Civil Disobedience is no easy matter. We must be sure of our capacity to undergo unlimited sufferings, and since constructive work has not been done this year even as well as it was done in 1921, there is little to indicate how much suffering the nation is prepared to endure. If, however, we resume our constructive work with redoubled energy, Civil Disobedience will not remain a mere possibility, and the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at Delhi will then be able to do much more fruitful work. For it must also be recognised that Civil Disobedience must be resorted to before Swaraj can be won. Let there be no mistake about this. There must be no shrinking from sacrifice, and this observation I would like to address in particular to such of my friends as have already undergone imprisonment for courageously standing up for their rights. If that experience makes them shrink from doing such work as may lead to a second period of imprisonment, then, I say, they are not the men for us. The first imprisonment is obviously wasted upon them for they should never have undertaken to do any national work, or should, at least, have made apologies to their foreign masters as soon as they were punished. To have undergone all this suffering and then to repent is the height of folly. As I wrote in the Bijapur gaol:

'If there is a sin even greater than sinlessness it is repentance over sin after the award of punishment.'

THE SHORT CUT TO LIBERTY.

Friends, I have given you a long enough programme of work and I cannot help it if it is a little too "insipid for your tastes. There is no royal road to Liberty. But there is one short cut, and that is

the readiness to follow the road to the grave. Death for a great cause provides the most piquant sauce for the most tasteless dish, and I make bold to say that if your Working Committee took it into its head one day to resolve that all its members should prepare themselves to DIE and that the resolution was not only a "resolution" merely according to conventional phraseology, but embodied the members' firm determination, I could guarantee them Swaraj within a year. And if it was the All-India Congress Committee that made such a resolve for itself, Swaraj could be won within a month. But, friends, Swaraj is in your hands and can be won TO-DAY if each of you resolves to be ready to die at the country's call. If, however, we are not prepared to do this and object to the Bardoli programme because it is dull and drab, then it is useless to talk of changing the Congress creed. Let us resolve to work, and, if need be, to die for the sake of our nation's freedom, and if at the end of a year's honest work, this Government does not send for our absent leader to witness its heartiest repentance for the past, and to receive the great Charter of Swaraj for the future let us in God's name unfurl without a moment's hesitation the flag of the Indian Republic, India's independent Federation of Faiths. Then, friends, you will not find your retiring President so unwilling to break the link that joins him to Great Britain as he is in some quarters suspected to be. In 1921 we gave a year to ourselves and the same period to the Government; but our part of the contract was not fulfilled, and we could not demand Swaraj as the price of our unfinished work. Let us go back to Nagpur, and with trust in our Maker and a prayer addressed to Him to give us courage, fortitude, perseverance and wisdom, begin the great work once more that our great leader has outlined for us. If only we do not prove unworthy of him we shall win back our lost liberty and it will not be as a prayer for success, but as the declaration of victory won, that we shall then raise the old, old cry

• MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI!

REPORT OF

Congress Work in 1923.

The General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress
issued the following report for 1923.

In compliance with Article XXIII of the Constitution of the Congress, we have much pleasure in presenting to the All-India Congress Committee the Report for the year 1923.

WORKING SECRETARIES

The duties of the Working Secretary were carried on successively by Sjt. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during the first half of the year under report, whereafter they have been under the charge of Sjt. D. Gopalakrishnayya. This rapid succession of Working Secretaries resulted in a frequent journeying of the office hither and thither which entailed changes in staff and serious dislocation of office work with added expense.

LOCATION OF STAFF AND OFFICE

In view of the growth in importance and volume of Congress work, it is becoming imperatively necessary that the office should be placed on a soundly organised basis with adequate and competent staff. We accordingly submit the following proposals in connection therewith :

(A) The following staff for the office may be fixed :

	Rs.
Assistant Secretary ..e	200-300
(Vide A. I. C. C. Resolution No 8 dated 30-12-1916.)	
Additional Assistant Secretary ..	150-200
(Vide Working Committee Resolution No 23 dated 28-5-1923.)	
Stenotypist with knowledge of Accounts ..	150
Accountant ..	75
Typist ..	75
Clerk ..	50
Three peons ..	45
Total ..	745

(B) A place may be fixed permanently for the Office where a stationary Additional Assistant Secretary with a clerk may be placed in charge of the permanent Records, Library,

any other property of the Congress, etc., while the chief Assistant Secretary with the other members of the staff may keep temporary office with the Working Secretary wherever he may happen to be.

STATEMENT OF WORK

The work done during the year by the All-India Congress Committee and its Executive, the Working Committee, will appear from the reports of their proceedings which were duly circulated among the members from time to time.

SPECIALISATION

A glance at the statement will show that the nature and extent of development in Congress activities and the enormous output of work requires specialisation through departments to ensure greater attention and quicker disposal. This is being secured by creating departments and placing them in charge of members of the Working Committee. Khaddar department has been so far specialised, and National Education which promises to occupy largely the attention of the Nation in its constructive programme should follow suit. Any special undertakings for which the Congress accepts responsibility also need the undivided services of a member, as is illustrated in the case of Nagpur Satyagraha (report of which is awaited to be appended hereto.)

DEVELOPMENT OF CABINET SYSTEM

This application marks the beginning of the development of the Cabinet System with its sense of collective responsibility which we had occasion to notice in a clear form at Bombay and partially at Nagpur All-India Congress Committee meetings. This demands the recognition that the members of the Working Committee ought to be whole time workers and provision may perhaps have to be found soon to secure their services free of extra-Congress duties.

The increase of earnestness on the part of Congress workers throughout the country has resulted incidentally in a number of election disputes. This is, of course, partly due to the growth of party system in Congress politics.

EXPERIENCE IN THE WORKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

These disputes are due also to certain defects, anomalies and anachronisms which have laid themselves bare in the course of the working of our Constitution, to correct which a committee has been sitting whose report will be available on the table of the Subjects' Committee (see post). We have acquired three years' experience in working the constitution, which can avail us to afford a sound and liberal interpretation thereof for the efficient conduct of our future work.

CONGRESS FINANCE

It is to be regretted that almost every Provincial Congress

committee excused itself, for one reason or other, its quota to the All-India organisation. Even the half delegation fees due to us from the Delhi Reception committee were not forthcoming, while the Reception committee of Nagpur has not favoured us as yet with the balance due since 1920. In the case of Delhi, indeed, we were happy to escape the necessity of running ourselves the whole Congress, thanks to the generosity of the Bombay Provincial Congress committee. On the other hand, some, nay almost all, Provincial Congress committees are addressing themselves to us for relief, in some cases for actual self-preservation and in others for meeting particular contingencies. Some provincial organisations, for instance Ajmer and Sind, are threatening to cease existence. This is a state of things which should command the first and immediate attention of the in-coming All India Congress committee. The funds that are available for general purposes before the committee at the present moment amount to no more than Rs. 25 thousand which would hardly suffice for running the office even for a year.

RELEASE OF LEADERS

The year restored to the nation its beloved leaders Lala Lajpat Rai, the Ali Brothers and others whose presence amidst us has given a fresh lease of life to the movement to continue its fearless march on the path of sacrifice kept green by the great campaigns of the Nagpur (Roll of Honour is to be laid on the table) and Akali Satyagraha. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the former was crowned with success and the latter is certain to repeat its glorious achievements of the Guruka-Bagh days. The Congress has taken up the challenge of the Government to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities. This requires solidarity in Congress ranks, which has been recently threatened by a recrudescence of Hindu-Muslim disunion, with its ugly and ominous manifestations at Multan, Saharanpur, Ajmer, and other places in the North. The presence of leaders and the anxious attention bestowed by them upon the problem has had some soothing effect. But the trouble is still there, and requires to be eradicated by prompt and skilful handling of the situation.

NATIONAL PACT

The Committee on the National Pact is to present its report to the Subjects committee which, it is hoped will settle the question and restore the original harmony amongst the various communities.

FLOOD AND FAMINE

The Nation, despite the visitations of flood and famine and all the misery that followed in their wake, which particularly hit hard the provinces of Behar, Kwantak, Andhra and Burma, has pulled itself up bravely and the Congress also had the honour of contributing its mite to the relief work that has been afoot.

Of the constructive programme inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, Khaddar (report of which is to be laid on the table) is the only item that has, to any appreciable extent, been attended to; and the other items have so far remained almost untouched, either owing to want of funds or to the distractions engendered by party dissensions and strife. It is hoped that the new Committee will address itself to providing facilities for inaugurating work in this direction and preparing the country for the great path of Civil Disobedience which alone can lead us to Swaraj.

REPORT OF THE Satyagraha Committee 1923

The following is the Report of the Satyagrah Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress 1923.

By resolution No. 4 of the Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi a committee was formed "to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of Provinces organising similar provincial or local campaigns for the speedy attainment of Swaraj which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners to liberty as well as the freedom of the Jazirat-ul Arab and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrongs." This committee consisted of Maulana Mahomed Ali, Deshbandhu Das, Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Mangal Sen, Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. D. Kitchlew (convener). I beg to present to you a brief account of the work done by this committee.

Immediately after the Delhi Congress one of the members of the committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Principal A. T. Gidwani and Sjt. K. Santanam of Tamil Nadu proceeded to Jaito and Nabha to find out what was happening there and to examine what truth there was in the reports appearing in the press in regard to the treatment accorded to the Akalis by the Nabha authorities. These three gentlemen were arrested on their arrival at Jaito under circumstances well-known to all. A grave situation arose and we were faced by a problem of first rate political importance. It was

not possible for the Satyagraha committee to meet immediately and so I wired to the members and to others for their opinions on the line of action to be taken to meet the Nabha challenge. Events at Jaito were rousing up the Sikhs to action and large divans were being held by them. I attended a number of these meetings and conferences and assured the Sikhs of the support of the Congress. Our office of the Satyagraha Committee was opened on 23rd September in Amritsar. The Provincial Congress committees were communicated with and asked to report what they could do in the event of a call for men to offer civil disobedience and also of the number of volunteers ready at their disposal, their financial condition and steps taken by them in pursuance of Civil Disobedience resolution. With the exception of one or two all the provinces sent their replies to these inquiries.

It was felt that the Council elections were occupying most of their energies and there was general complaint of lack of men and money. It was however assured by most of the provinces that if an effective campaign of civil disobedience was started, both men and money would be forthcoming. As feeling in Congress circles was being brought to a head and a definite line of action was being decided upon Messrs. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Gidwani and Santanam were discharged. This relieved the tension a little.

THE JULLUNDER EPISODE.

The Akali situation however continued to develop and I kept in close touch with the Sikh leaders and participated in their divans. A meeting of the Satyagraha committee was fixed for Jullunder about the time of the session of the Sikh League. It was hoped that members of the committee would thus be able to study for themselves the situation in the Punjab. As is well known, Government took swift action against the Akalis on the eve of the Sikh League meeting and arrested all the prominent leaders of the movement. The S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal were declared unlawful associations. Owing unfortunately to illness and other reasons most of the members of the Satyagraha committee could not come to Jullunder. Maulana Mahomed Ali was the only member besides the convener who was present at Jullunder.

Soon after the Jullunder episode I wired to a number of leaders drawing their attention to the Akali situation in the Punjab. About this time the President and Secretary of the A. I. C. C. convened a meeting of leaders at Amritsar to consider the situation. This meeting took place on the 17th November and made two recommendations to the Working Committee of the Congress which were subsequently approved of by the Working Committee. An Akali Sahayak committee was formed and two of its members, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and I, were deputed to represent the Congress in Amritsar to confer with the S. G. P. C. and to help them in every way. Principal Gidwani was put in charge of publicity. A meeting

of the Satyagraha committee was held about this time in Amritsar and was attended by Maulana Mahomed Ali, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and myself. The Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Leaders Conference and further suggested that non-Sikh Congressmen should become associates of the Akali Dal which had been declared unlawful by the Government.

By the formation of the Akali Sahayak Committee, the special work in connection with the Akalis became the business of the representatives of that committee and the convener of Satyagrah committee, who was also placed in charge of it had to devote all his time and energy to the work chalked out for the Sahayak Committee. The recommendations of the Satvagrah committee regarding non-sikhs becoming associates of the Akali Dal was approved of by the Working Committee but owing to lack of clearness of the rules of the Dal no definite steps have been taken yet.

It was the intention of the convener and some other members of the committee to tour round the country with a view to interview principal workers in the provinces and endeavour to rouse the people and thus prepare for a campaign. This intention could not be given effect to as the situation in the Punjab developed rapidly and made it impossible for me to leave Amritsar. I was advised by the President of the A. I. C. Committee and some other members of the Working Committee as well as some members of the Satyagraha committee to remain in Amritsar. The Sikh leaders also desired my presence there.

WIND IT UP IF YOU DON'T MEAN BUSINESS

The Satyagraha Committee has thus not been able to organise "an effective campaign of civil disobedience through out the country." Repeated attempts were made to prepare for some action but the circumstances detailed above prevented any effective steps from being taken. It is now for the Congress to issue directions and to chalk out a line of action. The future of the Satyagraha committee would depend on the decisions of the next sessions of the Congress. The whole point of the committee was that it should be a committee of action and not of mere enquiry as unfortunately misunderstood by some, and if such action is not contemplated in the near future it will be desirable to wind up the committee. Then again even if the Congress contemplates direct action in connection with the Akali struggle, the question to be considered is whether this action should be taken up by the Akali Sahayak committee or by the Satyagraha Committee. Probably it will be more convenient and desirable for the former body to be placed in charge of this. If so, then the Satyagraha committee will remain a paper committee with little work before it.

PRESENT POSITION IN THE PUNJAB

I need not say much in this report about the present situation

in the Punjab. The Sikhs are at present carrying on a campaign of civil disobedience against Government and at any moment an acute crisis may develop which would demand all the resources not only of the Sikhs but also of the Congress. The Congress should prepare for this and be ready for it when the time comes.

It is clear to every one who has read the situation that the Akalis are putting up a vigorous fight to protect their right of free association and religious reform and as such the challenge to the Akalis is a challenge to the whole nation. The All-India Congress Committee has already recognised this fact. This civil disobedience is already started on the National basis and the Congress has only to associate itself with the movement by giving it a practical effect. If the Akalis fail on account of lack of support from the whole country the Congress will lose its prestige and progress towards Swaraj will be retarded for a long time to come. It is also my conviction that if an effective campaign of civil disobedience is taken up by the Congress all these dissensions and communal frictions which are the result of lack of national activity will at once disappear, focussing public attention on the one important issue before the country.

The Working Committee sanctioned a sum of Rs. 5000 for the Satyagraha committee and the sum was paid over to me. A sum of Rs. 1331-2-1 has so far been spent and Rs. 3668-13-6 remain in hand. The major part of the expenditure was on establishment, propaganda and telegrams etc.

S. KITCHLEW, (CONVENER)

REPORT OF THE Indian National Pact Committee

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Indian National Congress 1923 to enquire and report on the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity. The report was signed by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, and proposed the following National Pact:—

"Whereas India being a dependency of the British Government has been deprived of all the rights and privileges of a free country and Indians are denied even full citizenship rights in several parts of the British Empire and the present foreign Government does not use, and in the nature of things cannot be expected to use, all its resources to uphold the dignity and protect the elementary rights of Indians:

"Whereas it is essential for the free and full moral and material development of her citizens and the enforcement of due respect for their human rights and their liberties in all parts of the globe that Indians should before all else, possess in India the rights and privileges that the free nations of the world enjoy in their respective countries:

"Whereas it is necessary that all the peoples of India, of whatever religion, race or colour, should unite together and apply all their resources, moral, mental and material, for the attainment of Swaraj and the only obstacle is the want of co-operation among the different communities due to misunderstandings and mutual suspicion about each other's aims and intentions: and

"Whereas a joint declaration by all communities of the goal which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people which a Swaraj Government will be pledged to guarantee and safeguard will be beneficial to the creating of that confidence and toleration which are absolutely essential for a common endeavour:

"It is hereby resolved that all the communities and committees represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolutions which shall be known as the INDIAN NATIONAL PACT."

Terms of the Indian National Pact

In pursuance thereof it is hereby resolved that—

COMPLETE SWARAJ

(1) It shall be the firm and unalterable object of the communities represented by the signatories to this pact to secure complete

Swaraj for India, that is to say, the Swaraj which will secure and guarantee to Indians the same status, rights and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoys in its country.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(2) The form of Government under Swaraj shall be democratic and of the federal type; but the exact nature of this Government shall be fixed and determined hereafter by a national convention consisting of representatives of political opinion.

HINDUSTANI TO BE LINGUA FRANCA

(3) Hindustani shall be the national language of India. It shall be permissible to write it in either script:—Urdu or Deonagar.

FULL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

(4) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education is hereby guaranteed to all the communities forming the Indian nation and shall form a constitutional right which it shall never be lawful for any Government to annul, modify, suspend or otherwise interfere with.

The afore-mentioned liberties shall however be exercised subject to such disciplinary rules and regulations as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order and to eliminate force or compulsion by any one party in derogation of the rights of others.

NO PREFERENCE TO PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

(5) To prevent any particular religious denomination being given undue preference over any other, no Government funds or funds collected by local bodies from public revenues and public taxes including cesses shall be devoted to the promotion and furtherance of any denominational institutions or purposes.

DEFENCE OF SWARAJ

(6) When once Swaraj has been achieved, it shall be the sacred duty of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or of any other denomination, to defend it against all attack, external or internal.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

(7) In view of the present state of feeling prevailing in the different communities and in view of the insufficient development of political sense and responsibility in them, it is necessary for some time to afford adequate protection to the interests of minorities.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

It is therefore hereby agreed that the various communities shall have separate representation in the Legislatures, both State and Federal.

Dissentient Notes

DR. ANSARI'S DISSENT

[Dr. Ansari wishes to extend this principle to municipalities and local boards.

LALA LAJPAT KAI'S DISSENT

Lala Lajpat Kai does not agree to this. As an alternative Lala Lajpat Kai proposes that a time limit may be fixed during which communal representation will be enforced and at the expiry of which it will be abolished altogether. Such representation shall throughout the country be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies.

Lala Lajpat Kai wants that a special provision shall be made for the representation of the Sikhs and some other communities who are in a very small minority, such as Christians and Parsis, etc.

Doctor Ansari suggests that large minorities such as the Sikhs and the Christians may be given special representation in the Federal Legislatures, but only very small minorities such as Parsis should be given a special representation both in the Federal and State Legislatures. But the electorate in all cases will be joint. There shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public services and in the educational institutions.]

NO COW-SLAUGHTER EXCEPT AT ID

(8) In order to achieve national unity and out of regard for the religious feelings of their Hindu compatriots the Muslims of India do hereby, by a solemn self-denying ordinance, bind themselves to give up cow-slaughter except in connection with ID-UZ-ZOHRA when it will be done in such a manner as will not injure the feelings of the Hindus.

NO MUSIC BEFORE PLACES OF WORSHIP

(9) In order to secure and preserve a calm atmosphere for public worship, it is hereby declared that no music shall be allowed in front of places of public worship at such time as may be fixed by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS

(10) Religious processions of different denominations when falling on one and the same date shall follow such different routes as may be fixed and at such different times as may be determined by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.

(11) In order to prevent friction and settle all questions giving rise to differences and conflicts between different religious communities, e. g., on the occasion of Dussehra, Moharrum, Rath Yatra,

Processions, Sikh Divans etc, etc. Provincial and Local Joint Board will be appointed to act as conciliatory and arbitration boards.

EASTERN FEDERATION.

(12) While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the Nations of the world at large, it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern Countries to be established for the purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from the economic exploitation and domination by Europe, and with a view to encourage and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various Nationalities all over the East.

Dr. Ansari's Note

[Doctor Ansari wishes to incorporate in the National Pact a clause which runs as follows.—Further that no bill nor any clause thereof nor a resolution affecting any community which question is to be determined by the members of the community in the Legislature concerned, shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Legislature, Federal or State, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or resolution.]

REPORT OF THE Boycott Committee

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Special Congress for the boycott of British goods.

The Committee consisted of (1) Pundit Motilal Nehru, (2) Maulana Mahomed Ali, (3) Vithalbhai Patel, (4) J. N. Mehta (5) Subhas Chandra Bose, (6) Seth Umar Sobhani (convener), (7) Dr. Kitchlew, (8) N. C. Kelker, and (9) D. Gopal Krishnaya. The report, however, bears the signature of 4 members only, viz. Messrs Umar Sobhani, J. N. Mehta, V. J. Patel and Gopal Krishnaya :—

"The Congress has accepted the principle of the boycott of goods made in the British Empire and its feasibility and we are now called upon to determine the method of putting it into operation, developing home manufactures, etc. To those who still doubt the feasibility of the boycott we may point out that when the late war broke out, England did not appoint Committees, nor did France, to consider whether a boycott of German goods was feasible or not. They were in a state of war with Germany and boycott of German goods was the supreme and paramount duty. In a similar way we feel every Indian must consider it his paramount and supreme duty to boycott goods made in the British Empire. The boycott has got to be effected and instead of wasting any further time as to how this is feasible the nation should make up its mind to put the boycott into immediate effect and to make such a boycott successful. At the same time we have to give a warning that such a boycott cannot be put into effect all at once with regard to all the commodities which are coming from the British Empire. It will have to be a 'boycott by graduation.' We shall have to make certain exceptions in case of articles which are necessary for the health and education of the people or are vital for certain important industries.

"We are of opinion that a complete boycott can at once be effected of all the 'piecegoods' made in the British Empire. The Khaddar movement has shown how India can be made self-contained with regard to piecegoods. In fact during the War period it was seen how we could curtail our foreign imports and fall back on indigenous resources with economy of consumption. Khaddar goods plus Mill-made goods can suffice for the clothing requirements of the people. The other articles which can be and should be immediately boycotted are : (1) Leather goods, (2) Chemicals, (3) Cycles, Carriages, Cars, Motor Cars, and Motor Cycles, (4) Clocks and Watches, (5) Drugs and Medicines, (6) Cordage and Rope, (7) Boots and Shoes, (8) Provisions, (9) Sugar, (10) Cutlery, (11) Ordinary glassware, (12) Je-

wellery, (13) Polishes, (14) Salt, (15) Soap, (16) Starch and Farina, (17) Dyeing and tanning substances, (18) Art-ware, including ivory work, (19) furniture, (20) Musical Instruments, (21) Toys, (22) Basket work, (23) Stationery, (24) Haberdashery and Millinery, (25) Buttons, (26) Candles, (27) Jute manufactures.

“With regard to leather goods articles necessary for productive Industries such as, Roller Skins, Picking bands and pickers should be excluded.

“Imports of all injurious articles such as Liquors, Wines, Spirits, Tobacco, being articles of luxury, can also be immediately stopped. The fundamental requirement for making the boycott successful is in our opinion, an organisation on the lines of the Indian Munitions Board. We realise that for economic and other reasons we cannot have that huge organisation started by us, but we suggest that every Congress organisation from the small village Committee upwards to the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee should forthwith take steps to establish and organise a virile working Boycott Committee. This should be charged with carrying out the orders of the Congress with regard to the Boycott of goods made in the British Empire. The Boycott is to take effect immediately with regard to the articles specified above and steps should be taken to make either this Sub-Committee or any other Sub-Committee into a sort of a permanent organisation working at Bombay with an efficient staff. The staff may, in the beginning consist of one paid Secretary, one shorthand writer, two clerks and two peons. This staff may be accommodated in the Offices of the Provincial Congress Committee or in a new office specially taken for the purpose. The total expenditure per annum for this staff need not exceed Rs. 12,000. This Committee will have to publish a large amount of literature and even perhaps a weekly Bulletin. The total expenditure for all this printing and publications should not, in the beginning at least, exceed Rs. 1,500 per month, which means that the total expenditure in the beginning may be put down as Rs. 30,000. This will not include printing expenditure for Books like the Directory of Indian goods which should be the first concern of the Committee nor the initial expenditure of stationery, furniture, etc., in which a fairly substantial investment will have to be made. All this non-recurring expenditure on furniture, the typewriters, duplication machine, etc., should not cost more than Rs. 5,000, while the printing of the Directory and Special Staff employed for the same will cost about Rs. 10,000. In all, therefore, a Budget for the first year may be put down at Rs. 45,000.

“The Central Organisation should have as its main function issuing of instructions to all the Congress organisations in the country regarding the method and manner in which the boycott to be put into effect and imparting information regarding indigenous sources from which commodities can be obtained, and the foreign countries which can supply these needs.

ities which cannot be manufactured in this country etc. The Sub-Committee will have to prepare and keep a Directory of all the Indian artisans and industrialists showing the articles and commodities which are made and manufactured in this country. They should get into touch with foreign manufactures, foreign merchants and, if need be, even with Foreign Government Authorities, for getting information as to foreign sources of certain articles. Every Village Boycott Committee should carry on if possible, a house-to-house propaganda with regard to the boycott and while coercion should be avoided, it should take all non-violent means to make the boycott successful in the village. It should apply for information to the Central Organisation whenever required. It may also, if possible, side by side with Khaddar Stores in the Village, have a Store of all the different necessities of life made in India. The same should be the case with the Taluka and District Organisations. All the organisations must try to get the co-operation of all the Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations within their jurisdiction and must move the Municipalities, District Boards, Local Boards, and all such semi-public Institutions to pass boycott resolutions and put them into effect. Municipalities can even have a higher control duty against articles made in the British Empire and see that Merchants dealing in goods made in the British Empire are charged higher Municipal-taxes. Mandaps at the time of marriage and other ceremonies are constructed in villages and towns and the local Municipalities can see that no permission is given for the construction of such Mandaps unless non-British articles and perfectly Indian articles are used therein. Congress Organisations can again take the co-operation of different caste organisations which should pass resolutions that all the caste members should use Indian articles only and in case of certain articles not being made in India they should go in for foreign articles in preference to articles made in the British Empire. All the Congress organisations should organise Exhibitions within their jurisdiction of such a practical nature that arrangements must be made there for buying and selling of articles and for registering orders with the Stall-keepers. Occasional Bulletins may be issued by the Central Organisation but a preferable thing will be to run a weekly Bulletin called the "Boycott" which will be the Official Bulletin of the Congress keeping in touch with all the Congress Organisations throughout the country solving doubts and difficulties and imparting information with regard to the availability or otherwise of articles either in this country or in foreign lands. Congress Organisations specially in big manufacturing Towns and Cities should get into touch with the manufacturers and Industrialists and persuade them and their representative institutions to purchase stores preferably of Indian origin, and in the absence of such, stores of non-British origin. It will be an up-hill fight, of course, with some of these manufacturers whose factories may have been fitted up with British machinery for which spare parts may

also be required to be of British origin. With patience and hard and earnest work, however, it is possible to change the mentality even of manufacturers and to induce them to adopt the Boycott British goods as an economic principle.

It must not be supposed that boycott of goods made in the British Empire is a simple proposition but if people set themselves to it with a set determination of purpose and a will to win, will not be very difficult in making the boycott successful and the carrying out the aims and objects of the Congress in the matter of using this as a principal weapon in our fight for "SWARAJ."

THE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

"Our main recommendations are thus:—

- (a) Start a Central Organisation.
- (b) Issue instructions to all Congress Organisations to start boycott committees and boycott work.
- (c) Ask all Congress Organisations to keep articles of India manufactures besides piecegoods in their Khaddar Stores.
- (d) Develop and push forward Khaddar manufacture as much as possible and for this purpose popularise and develop hand spinning also throughout the country.
- (e) Publish a Directory of Indian goods and manufacture keeping in touch with Indian Manufacturers and artisans.
- (f) Get into touch with foreign manufacturers with regard to articles which are not available in this country excepting of course piece-goods.
- (g) Adopt boycott immediately with regard to articles specified in the report, and.
- (h) Adopt all sorts of peaceful propaganda like house to house visits, starting of weekly papers, etc., etc.

Statements are attached herewith showing the total value of Imports from the British Empire and Foreign Countries of articles which we have recommended for boycott in this report.

Names of Articles

Boots and Shoes—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Cutlery—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Glass and Glassware—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Jewellery—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Polishes—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Salt—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Soap—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Starch—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Farine—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Dyeing and tanning substances—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..

Liquors, including Methylated and		
Spirits—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Tobacco—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Clocks and watches—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Provisions and Oilmen's Stores—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign Countries	..	..
Sugar—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Art, works of—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Furniture and Cabinetware—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Musical Instruments—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Toys—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..
Baskets and Basketware—		
British Empire	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..

	1919-20	1920-21	
	Rs.	Rs.	
..	15,56,280	57,91,800	22
..	22,21,810	47,91,440	5
..	10,92,790	23,45,420	8
..	22,97,320	31,74,980	7
..	35,48,790	69,07,670	46
..	1,64,32,150	2,68,54,150	1,76
..	9,46,930	22,66,750	11
..	2,78,730	3,93,800	1
..	18,50,720	39,08,000	13
..	2,84,770	3,43,880	1
..	1,54,80,880	1,47,87,210	1,05
..	54,71,520	80,26,240	46
..	1,12,22,740	1,32,19,040	87
..	10,00,390	8,75,590	2
..	19,17,740	8,94,840	8
..	9,11,920	4,88,970	3
..	1,32,920	33,800	
..	1,04,880	2,49,190	5
..	75,98,270	1,18,06,140	94
..	1,12,91,160	2,55,80,080	225

2,17,42,350	3,36,91,540	2 49,93,274
1,19,98,810	1,53,10,480	1,26,68,273
1,41,97,880	1,64,79,770	1,33,62,622
59,88,680	1,31,11,460	31,43,141
3,16,690	4,59,130	3,05,649
11,45,890	43,32,760	23,93,814
2,10,03,260	2,52,19,410	1,91,61,723
80,87,860	1,08,76 680	7 8,74,532
3,45,82,190	2,80,34,920	3,09, 0,149
9,53,44,430	15,69,94,820	24,40,58,109
3,36,370	6,43,840	8,36,747
1,12,400	2,28,660	4,05,987
6,55,290	24,28,060	16,68,822
6,76,500	30,25,640	8,85,079
4,42,590	22,59,630	10,27,794
6,52,220	14,65,200	7,55,873
9,98,850	21,12,400	12,61,470
42,45,400	37,97,350	21,64,165
23,350	61,300	20,896
13,640	17,580	7,017

1919-20

Rs.

47,91,850
30,33,560

45,88,370
50,96,870

1,74,720
16,80,050

2,35,620
1,55,690

23,57,140

1920-21

Rs.

1,28,85,100
53,29,450

1,30,24,030
1,71,64,720

5,45,000
28,96,530

4,65,380
2,62,880

24,77,220

1921-22

Rs.

67,82,918
23,54,352

31,77,123
31,01,861

1,67,883
25,56,924

1,26,900
3,949

19,63,804

Stationery—

British Empire	..	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..	..

Haberdashery and Millinery—

British Empire	..	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..	..

Buttons—

British Empire	..	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..	..

Candles—

British Empire	..	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..	..

Jute Manufactures—

British Empire	..	..	..
Foreign countries	..	..	..

TILAK SWARAJ FUND.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

The following general statement of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was submitted by Mr. C. H. Sopariwala, Hon. Auditor, A. I. C. C. to the General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee :—

Dear Sirs,

1. I have the honour to submit my third inspection report of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committee's Report of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, 1st October, 1922 to the 30th September, 1923.

2. During the year under report all the Provincial centres were visited by me except Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala and Carnatak owing to stoppage in Railway communications. There was no time for me to visit Assam. Burma was visited by me for the first time.

3. Accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund from Kerala and Assam have not been received for incorporation in the present report. Karnatak has only sent a statement of the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

4. As mentioned in my last report, except Bombay, Gujrat, the Punjab, Burma and Tamil Nadu, the balances in the hands of other provinces are very poor and during the year under report it seems that no attempts have been and could be made to collect the promised contributions or raise fresh subscriptions and donations, and Provincial quota to the All-India Congress is consequently a very poor one. ~~Burma~~ has however paid Rs. 51,480-7-6 to the All-India Congress Committee for earmarked purposes.

5. The Tilak Swaraj Fund consists of two different divisions :—

(1) THE GENERAL FUND amounting to Rs. 70,88,498-11-5 comprises the amounts subscribed by various donors without earmarking or indicating any specific objects on which it is to be spent. Provincial Congress Committees have full discretion for spending out of this fund as much money as they think proper for general propaganda and other constructive work of the Congress. Much progress seems to have been done in organising, stabilising and systematically carrying out such constructive work.

(a) The Khaddar Department is placed under the management of a Central Committee under Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Substantial sums have been expended on famine and flood relief and work among depressed classes.

(b) Annexure I to the present report shows at a glance the collections and disbursements of the Tilak Swaraj Fund from 1921 to 1923. In all Rs. 82,84,845-2-8 were expended for propaganda work, Rs. 27,00,540-15-9 devoted on

TILAK SWARAJ FUND

Khaddar, and Rs. 5,76,692-13-11 spent for National education. Establishment charges are within reasonable limits.

(c) The other annexures show the financial condition of the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the hands of the various Provincial Congress Committees.

(2) SPECIFIC GRANTS, Rs. 53,88,583-14-6. All contributions and donation made for specific or earmarked object are included under this head. No general information as to their financial condition and progress could be given in the present report. A substantial portion of these grants was given for National education, Khaddar, etc., and I am informed that the management issue reports from time to time.

6. As the Congress is now free from internal inconveniences every hope is entertained that the Provincial Congress Committees will realise the necessity of exerting and devoting their full time in collecting and realising promised contributions and donations for the past years and raising fresh subscriptions and contributions for the better carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress which makes heavy demands for funds.

TILAK SWARAJ FUND

The general statement showing collections of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and special grants (earmarked) and disbursements made out of general collections by Provincial Congress Committees for propaganda, establishment, volunteers, famine, depressed classes, etc., and for Khaddar and National education inclusive of amounts paid over to districts for the years 1921 to 1923 is given below :—

RECEIPTS.

Tilak Swaraj Fund.	1921	1922	1923	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. General collections Annexure No. I ..	64,31,779 15 10	3,92,430 2 6½	2,64,288 9 1	70,88,498 11 5½
2. Specific (ear-marked) donations or grants Annexure No. II ..	37,32,230 2 10½	9,45,552 1 4½	7,10,801 10 3	53,88,583 14 6
	1,01,64,010 2 8½	13,37,982 3 11	9,75,090 3 4	1,24,77,082 9 11½

ADD

3. Miscellaneous receipts, interest, other funds, famine, flood, Provin- cial membership, dele- gation, affiliation, etc. for 1921-23 ..	..	..	..	5,42,332 5 7½
				1,30,19,415 15 7

DISBURSEMENTS OUT OF GENERAL COLLECTIONS FROM ITEM NOS. I AND III.

Tilak Swaraj Fund.	1921		1922		1923		Total.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
4. Amounts disbursed for propaganda, establish- ments, volunteers, famine, floods, picket- ing etc. paid to Dist. Annexure No. III ..	21,22,255	11 11½	6,47,785	7 10½	5,14,803	14 10	32,84,845	2 8
5. Khaddar Annexure No. IV ..	6,05,667	5 3	4,86,227	13 2	16,08,645	13 4	27,00,540	15 9
6. National Education Annexure No. V ..	1,86,289	4 5	1,42,680	15 1	2,47,722	10 5	5,76,692	13 11
Grand Total Rs. ..	29,14,212	5 7½	12,76,694	4 1½	23,71,172	6 7	65,62,079	0 4

(Sd.) C. H. SOPARIWALLA,

Hon. Auditor, A. I. C. C.

Second Day's Sitting

COCANADA—DEC. 29TH, 1923

Next day, December 29th, 1923, the Congress met at 4 P. After the usual programme of songs proceedings commenced with the reading of messages received from several prominent Liberals and Congressmen regretting their inability to attend at the same time indicating their views on the present situation.

Hakim Ajmal Khan in his message urged the Congress not to open the question of Council-entry but make united efforts regarding constructive programme. He further suggested that the Congress should come to an agreement regarding the National Pact. Pan Malaviya in his message said that the discussion of the draft National pact by the Cocanada Congress was premature and likely to increase difficulties. Lala Lajpat Rai urged unity in the Congress ranks. Mr. Bhurgri advised the Congress to show practical patriotism and spirit of unity based on genuine communal toleration. The Hon. Mr. A. P. Patro, Minister of Education in Madras wrote: "We may not see eye to eye on all problems but all are agreed that we must strive to obtain Swaraj." Among others who had sent messages were Shri Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Rao Bahadur C. Rangachari, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer and Babu Bhagwan Das.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The Congress next discussed resolutions so far adopted by the Subjects Committee which had been sitting for the last days. The President moved resolutions placing on record the deep sense of loss at the demise of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyer and S. J. Aswini Kumar Dutta who had rendered valuable service in the cause of the country and also recording with grief the death of Hardeo Narain Singh and of Pandit Bajpai who bravely suffered imprisonment and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions. Mr. Mahomed Ali paid tribute to Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar for his sweet reasonableness and strength of character. His paper, the "Hindu", held a most prominent place among nationalist journals and its leading articles were noted for dignity and solidity and without that cowardice which was so often associated with sobriety. The President also read out a telegram from Gaya reporting the death on that morning of Mr. Krishna Prasad Sen Singh, Member of All-India Congress Committee. The resolution was passed, the audience standing in silence and praying for the souls of the departed persons.

On Change of Constitution

Then came a series of resolutions moved by Dr. P. T. S. Sitaramayya relating to the constitution of the Congress. These re

lutions were arrived at by the Subjects Committee after protracted discussion on the basis of the report (given below) submitted to the All-India Congress Committee by the Constitution Revision Committee. Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru seconded all the resolutions the most important of which was the amalgamation of the North West Frontier Province with the Punjab under the Congress constitution. Pandit K. Santanam who was the sponsor of the first resolution in the Subjects Committee pointed out the present anomalous position of the Frontier Provinces under the constitution and said that the proposition was intended only to legalise the existing practice. All the resolutions were passed without further discussion.

The following is the full text of the Report submitted by the Constitution Revising Committee appointed by the Special Congress at Delhi to make recommendations for alterations in the Congress constitution:—

This committee was appointed by resolution VII of the Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi. The committee consisted of Messrs. George Joseph, Pattabhi Sitararamaya, Purushotam Das Tandon, Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru (convenor). It was decided that the members of the committee might exchange and circulate notes on the subject of the revision before meeting formally. The Provincial Congress Committees and members of the All-India Congress committee were addressed on the subject and requested to make suggestions. They were specially asked their opinions about the desirability of a change in article VII and the reduction of the Congress delegates. Four Provincial committees and nearly 50 members of the All-India Congress committee have responded to the invitation.

The committee has formally met at Cocanada and considered the suggestions. Unfortunately three members of the committee—Messrs George Joseph, Purushotam Das Tandon and Subhas Chandra Bose were unable to be present at the meeting, but we have the advantage of having received some suggestions from them. This report, however, should only be considered as representing the views of the two signatories.

CHANGE IN CREED

The great majority of the members of the A. I. C. C. who have sent in their suggestions are against any change. Of the Provincial Congress committees, Gujrat, Andhra and Karnatak are against any change. The U. P. have however suggested that the object of the Congress should be "Independence." We have carefully considered this question and we are of opinion that no change should be made. Both of us are for independence, and indeed most of those who have written to us against a change in article I, are in favour of the goal of independence. In spite of this personal predilection, however, we are clearly against a change. Any change would narrow the Congress platform and introduce another element of controversy to the detriment of real work. We feel that the case of independence will be injured rather than advanced by an attempt to change article I at this stage. As regards the methods also we are of opinion that no change should be made.

Our colleague Sir Subhas Chandra Bose informs us that he wants the object of the Congress to be the attainment of "complete independence by all legitimate means." Mr. George Joseph favours our view.

REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF CONGRESS DELEGATES

Of the 40 members of the A. I. C. C. who have sent their suggestions on

29 DEC. '23] THE CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

this point, 29 are in favour of a reduction and 11 are opposed to it. Some suggest a very radical reduction to 1,000. Of the Provincial Congress Committees Andhra, Karnatak and the U. P. are opposed to a reduction; Gujarat recommends a reduction to 1,000.

We recommend that the number of delegates be reduced by half, that is about 3,000. This would mean that one delegate should represent one hundred thousand persons instead of fifty thousand as heretofore.

We understand that our colleagues Messrs. George Joseph and Sub Chandra Bose are opposed to a reduction of delegates.

OTHER CHANGES

The other principal changes recommended by us are:—

1. The Congress should be held in the last week of February or the first week of March instead of during the Christmas holidays. This is a concession to delegates from South India many of whom find it very difficult to bear the northern cold during Christmas. At the end of February the climate will be pleasant and arrangements will probably cost less. An argument against this change is the fact that the railway companies offer concessions during Christmas. A great majority of delegates, however, cannot take advantage of this concession as they travel in third class.

2. We have made it clear in article III that the Provincial, District and other Conferences that are held are only meant for education and propaganda purposes and have no other place in the Congress organisation. If they are given any other authority there is a possibility of conflict between the Provincial committee and the Provincial conference.

3. We recommend that U. P. (Marathi) and Berar be made into one province. They have everything in common and are small provinces. Both the provinces were asked by us if they had any objections to this change but neither has expressed their opinion.

4. We have suggested in Article VIII that the A. I. C. C. shall have power to reduce the number of delegates in any province, which that province gets owing to the inclusion of Indian States in its area. We have done this specially in view to reduce the representation of Ajmere which, owing to Rajaputana, is ridiculously high. Ajmer is at present entitled to send 400 delegates. We feel that this figure can easily be reduced by the A. I. C. C. to 100. Some additional delegates might be allotted to Bombay.

5. We suggest that, except in the case of the A. I. C. C., the word 'Committee' should be replaced by 'Sabha.' Thus we should have 'Provincial Congress Sabha.' It is hardly correct to use 'committee' for all these organisations.

6. We recommend that Congress should appoint an auditor every year and also that the A. I. C. C. should ensure that the accounts of the P. C. C.s are properly audited.

7. We have added ten to the number of members of the A. I. C. C. and give the A. I. C. C. power to co-opt these ten.

8. We have fixed the quorum of the A. I. C. C. at 50.

DECISIONS OF THE A. I. C. C.

9. We suggest in article XXI that resolutions of the A. I. C. C. shall be binding on all Congress organisations until they are revoked. We further suggest that no decision on any "new matter" shall be revoked within 3 months unless there is a three-fourths majority. We feel that this provision is essential to avoid a repetition of some of the unfortunate occurrences of 1923.

10. We suggest in article XXII that the A. I. C. C. should nominate a panel of 10 members from whom the President should nominate 3 to decide all elections.

disputes. Some permanent tribunal is necessary and it is undesirable to have a fixed tribunal of them for all disputes as one or more of those may not be able to act.

11. We have adopted in articles XXXII and XXXIII with some slight changes the suggestions put forward in regard to Hindustani in the draft constitution framed by the 'Constitution Revision Committee' in 1923. We feel that Hindustani should definitely be given pride of place. At the same time we have not shut out English or the local vernacular. Our colleague, Sjt. P. D. Tandon is as strongly in favour of alteration. We have suggested that the A. I. C. C. members allotted to Ajmer be reduced to 4 and the surplus number be given to Bombay.

RULES OF PROCEDURE

We feel that it is necessary for the Congress to have definite rules of procedure. The rather lack of such rules at present creates confusion and difficulty. It is specially necessary in clear and stringent rules to be made about the collection, retention and expenditure of funds by the All India office as well as the provincial and other Congress offices. Considerable economy can be effected if clear directions are given.

Those rules need not be made a part of the Congress constitution, nor need they be placed before the Congress. The A. I. C. C. can itself frame them and Provincial committees to follow them. We trust that this will be done. We attach herewith detailed suggestions about the changes to be made in the constitution.

Cocanada, Dec. 2-6, 1923.

(Sd.) B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
(Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru

Detailed Suggestions

Article II (a) Instead of 'During Christmas holidays' have 'in the last week of February or the first week of March'.

(b) This should read as follows:—

'An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress committee on a requisition or a majority of the Provincial Congress sabhas or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two thirds of the members present. The All India Congress committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the articles of this constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.'

Article III. This should read as follows:—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

- The Indian National Congress.
- The All India Congress committee.
- Provincial Congress Sabhas.
- District Congress Sabhas.
- Sub-Divisional, Taluk or Tahsil, Panchayat or other local Congress Sabhas.
- Such other Sabhas situated in India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- The Executive committee of the Congress.

[NOTE: Provincial, District, Taluk, Tehsil or other conferences may be organised by the above Sabhas for educative and propagandist purposes.]

Article V. The provinces of Marathi and Berar to be made into one Province. The numbers of Provinces to be changed accordingly. Delete the last

paragraph beginning with "the existing Provincial Congress committees" to end of article.

Article VI. (c) should read as follows—

Each Provincial Congress Sabha shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the Province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Sabha.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Sabha shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All-India Congress committee before the 31st January.

Article VII. The year of the f-anna membership shall be from April 1st to March 31st.

Article VIII. In third paragraph instead, of 'fifty' have 'hundred'; and instead of 'last census' have 'census of 1921.' Add after 1921: 'provided that in the matter of such States it shall be open to the all-India Congress committee to reduce the number of delegates in any province, and, if necessary, re-allot that number in whole or in part to another province. Provided further that the inclusion of 'Indian States etc,' to end of paragraph as in present constitution,

7th Paragraph—beginning with 'The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee' to 'receipt thereof' to be deleted and instead of it the following to be put in at the end of the preceding paragraph—

'Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Sabha shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress'

8th paragraph—beginning with 'Each Provincial Congress committee'... Instead of the 15th day of December every year.....such sessions have: ten days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress'

Article XVIII. Make the existing paragraph clause (a) and add—

b. The accounts of the All India Congress committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. He shall be competent for the auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the provincial Congress Sabhas.

c. The All India Congress committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the provincial Congress Sabhas are properly audited.

Article XIX. Paragraph 1, instead of 350 have 500. Paragraph 2 delete 'from among the members' to end of para.

Para 3. Should read as follows—'The allotment shall be according to the linguistic redistribution of provinces according to the list given in appendix B.

Para. 5. Instead of 'November' have 'January.'

Para. 6. Delete whole para—instead, have as follows,—

'The All-India Congress committee shall at its first meeting co-opt ten members; Provided that it shall be competent for the Committee to transact all its business even though any or all of these 10 members have not been co-opted.

After Para 6 add another para as follows—

'Causes vacancies in the All-India Congress committee caused by resignation, death or absence from India shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Sabha or, in the case of the co-opted members, by the All-India Congress committee.'

In present para 8 change '15' to '30'. Add to this para 'When once such a meeting is requisited and convened at its agenda subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the Sabha.'

Add after above para another para as follows,—

'The quorum for the All-India Congress Committee shall be fifty.'

Article XXI.—add following at the end of the first sentence—

'But a decision given by the All-India Congress committee upon any such 'new matter' shall be binding on the various Congress organisations until and unless revoked by itself or at an ensuing session of the Indian National Congress. No decision however of the All-India Congress committee may be revoked within three months unless supported by not less than three fourths of the members present at a meeting of the committee convened for the purpose. 'Delete 'For this purpose' and start new para with 'The All-India Congress committee.'

Article XXIV. add after 'first meeting' 'every year.'

Add at the end of the article—

'All decisions of the Working committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress committee.'

Article XXXI. Delete and instead have the following—

"The All-India Congress committee shall at its first meeting every year nominate a panel of 12 members from whom the President or the committee shall nominate three to enquire into and decide all election disputes.

Add fresh articles :—

Article XXXII. The addresses of the Chairman of the Reception committee and the President of the Congress shall be printed in English and in Hindustani, both in Devanagari and Urdu scripts.

Article XXXIII. The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani. English or the local vernacular may also be used.

In article IX (b) committee to be altered to 'Sabha'; wherever " Provincial Congress committee " occurs it should be altered to " Provincial Congress Sabha."

All other consequential changes to be made in articles and appendices.

Appendix A ; "committee" to be changed to "Sabha."

Appendix B.

City of Bombay to have 10 instead of 7 members.

Ajmer to have 4 instead of 7 members.

C. P. (Marathi) and Berar to be one Province with 14 members.

" Co-opted by All India Congress committee.....10 ; and
change total to 360.

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

Cocanada December 24th 1922.

The Debate in the Subjects Committee

This question of change in the constitution of the Congress had previously been debated thread-bare in the meeting of the Subjects Committee held on the 27th. The question of revision of the Creed arose out of a resolution adopted by the United Provinces Congress Committee. The debate was very lively lasting over three hours. In the end the main proposition for change in the Creed so as to define Swaraj as 'complete independence,' was defeated by an over-whelming majority. The following is an account of this debate.

At the outset Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Special Congress to suggest improvements in the Constitution of the Congress, explained that their recommendation was that there should be no change at present in the Creed. They had stated that although they strongly favoured the idea of independence and would also like the Congress to aim at it, yet they were against any change at present, as it would only hinder the national cause.

Sj Subhas Chandra Bose, member of the Committee had telegraphed that he was for a change of the Creed into "complete independence by all legitimate means."

On this subject Gujrat, Karnatak and Andhra were against any change while the United Provinces Congress Committee suggested a change on the lines moved by Sj. Ram Prasad Misra. Some members of the Central Provinces Committee also opposed any change.

THE U. P. INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Sj. Ram Prasad Misra then moved the resolution of the United Provinces Congress Committee for amendment of the Creed, so that Swaraj, which was the object of the Indian National Congress, be defined as "complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Such a change would, he said provide a stimulus necessary to reawaken the National movement.

Moulana Azad Sobhan (U. P.) seconded the resolution

Sj Vallabhai Patel (Ahmedabad) opposed the resolution, not that he disliked the idea of independence, but that it was inopportune at a time when the country was much weaker than it was at Ahmedabad when a similar motion of Moulana Hajrat Mohani was rejected. Referring to the Kenya insult, he said that it was nothing in face of the greater insults that were offered including the locking up of one man whom the whole country revered. Sentiment must give place to the practical side of the question and no resolution should be adopted hastily.

Sj S. Srinivasa Iyengar (ex-Advocate General, Madras) moved an amendment embodying a definition of Swaraj which was contained in the recently published National Pact (see ante). By this definition

Swaraj was described as securing to Indians the same rights, status and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoyed in its own country. Mr. Iyengar said that the time had come when they should not be compromising on the question of ideals although they might as regards action. If they felt that consideration of this amendment taken apart from the National Pact would divide them then he was prepared not to press it.

Sj. Venkatram (Bombay), who had seconded the resolution of Moulana Hasrat Mohani at the Ahmedabad Congress, seconded the amendment of Sj. Srinivasa Iyengar.

Dr. M. A. Ansari (Delhi) supported it.

Sj. N. S. Varadachari (Madras), on the other hand, opposed both the resolution and the amendment as expressions of suppressed anger. Every time a resolution for change in the Creed was moved and lost, Government and some people thought that the Congress was aiming at the Dominion Status. He did not want the ideal of Congress to be fixed at the Dominion Status. He wanted independence, but the country was not then even so strong as it was in December, 1921.

Sj. Harisarvothama Rao (Andhra) also opposed both the resolution and the amendment. He said that they must achieve something before they could express in bombastic terms their desire for independence. "We have done nothing. We have almost slept over our programme. I have no faith in camouflage but in real sacrifice."

Deshbandhu C. R. Das also joined in opposition to the resolution as well as the amendment as in his opinion there was no better expression of their ideal than the simple word Swaraj. Independence was a poorer ideal than the ideal of Swaraj, which included the ideal of independence. What they required was the right of Self Determination, and it could not be expressed in any term more eloquently than the word Swaraj. "You cannot have Swaraj with a foreign Power and a foreign control over you. You must get rid of it in order that you may develop Swaraj," he concluded.

The discussion then centred round the amendment of Sj. Brindavanani (Gorakhpur) which was to the effect that the term "Swaraj" included the ideal of "complete independence" as a step towards attainment.

Deshbandhu Das indicated his approval of this amendment as Sj. Prakasam (Madras) in seconding it spoke vigorously advising the House to take stock of their own conduct. It was not right, he said, to suppose that because a resolution was lost it was interpreted as one aiming at the Dominion Status. Losing a resolution was not so bad as passing a resolution and allowing it to remain a dead letter. He disagreed with Sj. Patel that their position had weakened since 1921, for had they succeeded in the Nagpur fight. That showed that there was national enthusiasm which was allowed to die on account of their own quarrels. By accepting this resolution they would not be transgressing Mahatma Gandhi's instructions.

Sj. S. K. Sarma (Madras) moved for the deletion of the words 'by all legitimate and peaceful means' after the word 'Swaraj' in the existing Creed. There was none to second it and the motion fell through.

Sj. Shamlal (Punjab) supported the motion of Sj. Brindavasani, while Sj. Santanam (Lahore) opposed all motions for a change in the Creed, as thereby, he said, they would be alienating a number of people who were within the Congress. This observation of Sj. Santanam was endorsed by Sj. Vithalbhai Patel (Bombay) who counselled practical wisdom.

During further discussion Pandit Motilal Nehru opposing a change in the Creed emphasised the view of Mahatma Gandhi that the existing Creed meant Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without the British Empire if necessary.

Both Dr. Kitchlew and Sardar Mangal Singh, of the Gurudwara Committee, spoke in favour of a change in the Creed, the former stating that every speaker had expressed a desire for complete independence; therefore, said he, there was no reason for opposition to change the Creed.

The amendment of Sj. Brindavasani stating that Swaraj included the idea of complete independence was lost by show of hands, while Sj. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, who had moved the definition of Swaraj contained in the National Pact, withdrew his. The main proposition moved by Sj. Ramprasad Misra was put to vote.

The resolution was put and declared lost by one hundred and one votes to thirty-nine. But in view of the strong feelings of many important members, this independence resolution was again allowed to be moved in the open Congress the next day in spite of its defeat in the Subjects Committee.

THE DEBATE ON THE NATIONAL PACT.

Then came the most important resolution of the day. Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the resolution regarding the National Pact.

The debate on the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact was initiated in the Subjects Committee meeting of 29th December by Dr. Ansari, joint author of the National Pact, who moved:—

"That this Congress declares that the attainment of Swaraj is impossible without unity between the different communities in India, and that an INDIAN NATIONAL PACT accepted by these communities dealing with their rights under the Swaraj Government and to secure to each the liberty of faith, worship, propaganda, association and education should be agreed upon.

That in the opinion of this Congress the report of the Committee appointed in this behalf by the Special Session of the Congress

held at Delhi, and the draft Pact submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be accepted as suggestions to be further considered by the Nation.

And for the purpose of laying down the general principles upon which such a Pact should be based and to help in the formation of an All-India and Provincial Pacts in accordance with the following Committee, with power to co-opt up to three members when they are working in the Provinces, be formed to submit a full draft of the Indian National Pact by the end of January 1924 :—Deshbandhu C. R. Das (President), Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. S. T. Prakasam, and Dr. Ansari (Convener) ”

In the debate that followed in the Subjects Committee Pt. Motilal Nehru did not favour Dr. Ansari's proposal for a new committee and proposed that the matter be referred back to the old committee for consideration, criticism and submission of their report to the All India Congress Committee.

As the general sense of the House was in favour of the suggestions put forward by Pandit Motilal and Janab Yakub Hussain who opposed Dr. Ansari, the resolution was passed, moved by Pandit Motilal, declaring that having taken note of the National Pact and the Bengal Pact, the matter be referred back, to a sub-committee consisting of those who drafted the Pact (Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, with the addition of Sardar Amar Singh of Jeswa, in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh in jail) with the instruction to call for an examination all the criticisms and submit a report to the All-India Congress Committee by the end of March next.

This resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority. So in the open Congress Pandit Motilal moved :—

RESOLUTION ON HINDU-MOSLEM PACT

“ Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions on the draft criticisms on the Indian National Pact and Bengal National Pact and submit their report by 31st March 1924 to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and Sardar Amar Singh of Jeswa be included in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is now in jail.”

The mover made it clear that the pacts had not been concluded but were mere drafts. He could not therefore understand, in view of the great outburst of alarm in many provinces and people sending wire after wire in protest, why the telegraph revenue of the Government had been swelled by the heap of protest telegrams sent to them. He must say that his head was for some sort of pact although his heart felt differently because the real solution was not a Pact but

mutual goodwill. However, some Pact acceptable to the public might ease Hindu-Muslim tension because without unity they could not attain Swaraj. They must either make up their mind to unite or close the Congress organisation.

Mrs. Naidu seconded the resolution and reserved her remarks for a later occasion.

Mr. Gopalakrishnayya explained the resolution in Telugu.

Mr. Hardayal Nag opposed the inclusion of the Bengal National Pact in the resolution and moved an amendment for its deletion as it was a hurriedly formed and ill-considered document. On this a heated debate ensued, and the general sense of the House, which was not favourably disposed towards Mr. Das, the originator of the Bengal Pact, and had ever since Gaya kept a suspicious eye on him, was against anything that Mr. Das did.

Mr. Chotalal Jainaya Jharriar seconded the motion for deletion.

Mr. Purushotama Ray, Bengal, supported the amendment. Mr. Gauri Sankar Misra in asking the Congress to reject both the resolution and amendment pointed out that in the Hyderabad State Mohamedans were prohibited from Cow slaughter on the occasion of Id-uzzuha (applause) while the proposed Pact permitted it. Would not the people of Hyderabad turn round and declare that the Congress had permitted it? The Pact, he said, must be dropped and unity attained through work.

MR. DAS EXPLAINS

At this stage Mr. C. R. Das rose to speak in order to remove misapprehensions created about the Pact. He reiterated the statement he made in the Subjects Committee that the Bengal Pact was not a concluded agreement. It was only a suggestion of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the Congress and was on the records of the Congress. Bengal did not press on the Congress to accept the Pact now but to consider it in due course and he therefore could not understand the cry of "Delete Bengal" in the amendment.

He said:—"It is a Pact that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has sent up as a proposal before you, and the resolution says, 'Read the reports.'" And the resolution that has been moved before you is not that you should accept it. The resolution does not say that you should accept it. The resolution says that the opinion of the whole country should be taken upon it, not only upon the Bengal pact but everything that would be placed before the present Committee. Is it a Pact? No. We all know nothing can be a Pact till it is so solemnly assented to and agreed upon. Why is this objection, pray?

"Many of you may be under the impression, having regard to the few speeches that have already been made, that you are asked to

accept the Bengal pact, that it is a wicked Pact, that it creates division between the Hindus and the Muhamadans. Therefore, do not accept it. Whatever you do, accept it or not, it is not in your hands. Not now, but after the Committee have gathered opinions from throughout the country and placed their report before you. Then will be the time for you to say "We shall not have this draft, we must have another." But now, why all this anger? Why is this resentment against Bengal? What has Bengal done? Bengal knows that the All India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress is going to consider the question of a National Pact. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has made its suggestion. It may be right or it may be utterly wrong. You are not called upon to endorse that view now. All that you are called upon to do now is to say in the resolution that you have read this suggestion. It is a record on the Congress. How can you avoid regarding it? Are you to say this that although Bengal has sent up its suggestion we, the Indian National Congress, refuse to read it? (Laughter). What is asked of you—what is the meaning of this opposition? I have not been able to gather yet. What are you asked to do? Take the opinion of every association in Bengal, take the opinion of every class in Bengal, take the opinion of every community in Bengal, and send them up here. We don't want to shut this out. Because we call it a Pact, it does not become a Pact before it is agreed upon. Suppose you write an agreement on a piece of paper, that piece of paper does not become an agreement till you sign it (Laughter).

BENGAL'S RIGHT TO BE HEARD

What is this misapprehension about? Is Bengal debarred from making that suggestion. Is any human being in India to be deprived of his undoubted right to press before the Congress his suggestion? Is the Bengal Provincial Committee to be deprived of its right to place its suggestion before the Congress? You may delete 'the Bengal National Pact' from the resolution but I assure you, you cannot delete Bengal from the history of India from the history of the Indian National Congress. (cheers). Bengal demands the right of having her suggestion considered. You may throw it out after considering it. What right has anybody to say that Bengal is to be deprived of placing her suggestion before the Indian National Congress? That is what you are asking for. People should go into the merits of the draft. We are not concerned about it now. If there are clauses in it which are objectionable, well place before the Committee your views. Then you will have the full right of discussing it when later on the Committee makes its report. It is idle I submit at this stage to cry out, "You must delete Bengal." You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal is where she stands. She is on the map of India. She is an integral part of the constitution of the Indian National Congress. And, she is intimately

associated with the history of all political agitation from the commencement of the Congress down to the present day (Hear, hear). You cannot delete Bengal. Bengal will not be deleted in this unceremonious fashion (Hear, hear, Applause)."

Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti of Bengal advised the Congress not to allow any Pact to be formed. He did not grudge any concession to his Mahomedan friends but feared that it would imperil Hindu-Muslim unity. It was an insult to the patriotism, intelligence, and large-heartedness of Mahomedans if they allowed the impression to gain ground that unless Hindus entered into a sort of bargain with them they would not stand shoulder to shoulder under the banner of freedom. Was the Hindu-Muslim Unity, which Gandhi worked for and achieved, such a fragile thing that could not exist unless some mechanical Pact and compromise came to its rescue?

Mr. T. K. Sherwani sounded a note of warning. He said he was a Congressman for the last 11 years and would accept Swaraj even if it meant Hindu Raj again. He had managed to reduce at Aligarh Cow Slaughter even on occasion of the 'Id' from 500 to two cows and these two were sacrificed by Government servants. He had also taken in front of the Mosques more Hindu processions; even before he had also opposed the idea of a National Pact at Gaya. He quoted all these to show his previous attitude but after hearing the debate in the Subjects Committee and in the open Congress his mind was a little upset to find that some Hindu speakers had urged the deletion of the Bengal Pact. The impression he said which every Muslim would get from it was that they were opposed even to consider a document which proposed to grant a just right to Muhammadans. The proposal before the House asked nothing more than mere consideration of the pacts and if this was denied, Muslims would be disturbed.

Mr. T. Prakasam (Andhra) speaking in Telugu urged the necessity for forming a Pact and preparing an atmosphere for carrying on the constructive programme vigorously.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu speaking on Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution with great warmth said she failed to understand the fanatical warmth, an almost religious fervour of denunciation, about a resolution which was a merely automatic official procedure asking the leave of the Congress to place before the Nation through the instrumentality of a committee, a pact for all India and a pact suggested by the urgent necessities of the local circumstances in Bengal for their criticisms and suggestions. Bengal had a right just as any other province to consider a Magna Charta of Peoples for peace among themselves.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari also supported the resolution of Pandit Motilal Nehru and advised the Congress not to throw out the National Pact after it had been so long before the public. If it did so it would make people think that they were unable to deal with

this question and hence they shelved it. He believed that the work of the constructive programme and non-violence were the only safeguards for peace in this country. At the same time the National Pact had great advantages. As regards the Bengal Pact the Congress was only asked for permission to publish it for opinion and criticism. There was no harm in that.

Mr. Yakub Hussain said that the Lucknow Pact already existed and no cause had arisen for drawing up another Pact. The old one had been accepted during the last two sessions; they could not go back upon it but they must proceed with caution. He however strongly urged the deletion of the Bengal Pact. As a selfish Muslim he should have stood by the Bengal Pact, but he would oppose it being sent out in the name of Congress because it contained the question of communal proportions which was big with serious complications in other provinces. If the Bengal Pact was circulated along with the National Pact the result would be that all the Congress committees in the Provinces would like to follow the example of Bengal. The Congress had appointed its committee and should consider its Pact while the Pact of Bengal could be submitted for consideration as the opinion of any other association and organisation.

Dr. Ansari in supporting Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution emphasised that the All India Pact contained simple abstract principles whereas the Bengal Pact contained figures worked out in concrete so that they might know exactly what the results would be in the various provinces. Unless a Pact was entered into there would not be real harmony and existing suspicion would not be removed.

Pandit Motilal replying to the debate said that a Bengal Pact was already published and even if it was not circulated widely by the Congress, what was there to prevent other Congress committees to emulate it if they wanted to? There was thus no practical advantage gained by deleting Bengal. He made it clear that if there had been any proposal urging a Pact he would not have favoured it, but the proposal for a pact was started early in December and not a voice was heard in protest. To drop it now would mean that the Muslims of Bengal would think that because the Pact gave them some rights it was dropped, but the proper course was to take a view of the two communities and arrive at a solution acceptable to both. It was too late to retract. The majority of telegrams received by him had only urged caution and thus they were going to observe.

After a long debate lasting over four hours the discussion was closed and the President put the amendment urging the deletion of Bengal to vote and declared it lost. As votes were fairly balanced a division was challenged. The pandal was then cleared of visitors to enable the votes being properly counted.

VOTING ON THE PACT

The amendment for deletion of the Bengal National Pact from the resolution, that is, not to refer it to the committee for consideration, was carried by a majority, the vote being 673 for deletion and 458 against it.

The House again divided on the resolution as amended, that is for consideration of the Draft of the Indian National Pact. This division resulted in the amended resolution being carried by an overwhelming majority. The voting being 773 for and 205 against.

The Congress then adjourned till the next day.

The following is the Text of the Bengal Pact:

A HINDU-MUSLIM PACT

I.

It is resolved that in order to establish real foundation of Self-Government in this province it is necessary to bring about a pact between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Bengal dealing with the rights of each community when the foundation of Self-Government is secured.

II.

Be it resolved that:

(a) REPRESENTATION IN COUNCIL

Representation in the Bengal Legislative Council on the population basis with separate electorates subject to such adjustment as may be necessary by the All-India Hindu-Muslim Pact and by the Khilafat and the Congress.

(b) REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL BODIES

Representation to local bodies to be in the proportion of 60 to 40 in every district—60 to the community which is in the majority, and 40 to the minority. Thus in a district where the Mahomedans are in majority they will get 60 per cent, and the Hindus 40 per cent. Similarly where the Hindus are in majority they are to get 60 per cent. and the Mahomedans 40 per cent. The question as to whether there should be separate or mixed electorates is postponed for the present to ascertain the views of both communities.

(c) GOVERNMENT POSTS

55 per cent of the Government posts should go to the Mahomedans to be worked out in the following manner:—

Fixing of tests of different classes of appointments. The Mahomedans satisfying the least test should be preferred till the above percentage is attained; and after that according to the proportion of 55 to 45, the former to the Mahomedans and the latter to the

non-Mahomedans, subject to this that for the intervening years a small percentage of posts say 20 per cent. should go to the Hindus.

(d) RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

(1). In not allowing any resolution or enactment which affects the religion of any of the different communities without the consent of 75 per cent of the elected members of that community.

(2) In not allowing music in procession before any mosque.

(3) In not interfering with cow-killing for religious sacrifices.

(4) In providing that no legislation or enactment in respect of cow-killing for food will be taken up in the Council. Endeavour should be made by members of both the communities outside the Council to bring about an understanding between the communities.

(5) In providing that cow-killing should be carried on in such a manner as not to wound the religious feeling of Hindus.

(6) In providing for the formation every year of representative committees in every sub-division, of which half the members should be Mahomedans and half Hindus, each committee choosing its president from among themselves with power to prevent or arbitrate upon any dispute between Hindus and Mahomedans in accordance with the provision hereinbefore stated.

Third Day's Sitting

COCANADA—30TH DECEMBER 1923

On the 3rd day the Congress met at 3 in the afternoon and had a rather short sitting with only 1 resolution of note, namely, that on Volunteer organisation. The major part of the sitting was devoted to the discussion of a resolution for a change in the Creed of the Congress, defining Swaraj as complete independence. This resolution though defeated in the Subjects Committee was allowed by the President to be discussed in the open Congress as there seemed to be a considerable volume of opinion behind it, and the mover wanted the motion to be placed before the Congress.

CONDOLENCE

The President first of all put from the chair the resolution that this Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayana Chandravarkar, an ex-President of the Congress. The resolution was carried unanimously, all standing. Maulana Mahomed Ali said that the late Sir Narayana Chandravarkar was the ex-President of the Congress held at Lahore. "We cannot forget the work done by the deceased. Even though the time and views have changed, yet his work cannot be forgotten by us."

NEED FOR VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the resolution that: "This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of national work on the lines laid down by a disciplined body of workers, this Congress therefore welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls upon the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and maintain general control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration." The mover spoke in Hindi and said that volunteer organisation is quite necessary for the constructive work of the Congress to be carried on in the villages and also every item of Congress programme. S. J. Manilal Kothari of Gujarat seconded the resolution. The resolution was put to vote and carried.

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Then came the question of change of the Creed of the Congress to complete Independence. The resolution was moved by Mr. Ram Prosad Misra of the United Provinces, and seconded by Maulana Azad Sobhani. Among others who supported the change were Mr. Ganri-

Shankar Misra. The same arguments which have been used year after year and in the Subjects Committee were repeated. One speaker remarked that, although Mr. Das and other leaders had declared in the Subjects Committee that the Ideal of Swaraj was greater than that of independence, the term "Swaraj" had been lowered by the use by the King in his message through the Duke of Connaught. Swaraj must therefore be defined. Those who opposed the change were Mr. Gopala Krishna Rao, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Maulana Shaukat Ali

After some members had spoken, the President in calling upon his "Big Brother" to address the Congress humourously said: "Now I am sending you the biggest coward" Maulana Shaukat Ali, in opposing the Independence resolution, said:—

"I am one of the biggest cowards of India. Whether I am a coward or a brave man, you know how much I honour this Government. I want all those who want independence, I want to ask them the reason why they did not ask for this independence two years ago. Since I have come out of jail I have been touring all over India seeing all these brave people, the cowards, the workers and all the talkers also (laughter). Everyone I have heard saying to me, 'Because Mahatmaji was imprisoned therefore this movement became cold.' Where were these wonderful people then? Friends, it is painful for me to talk before you like this. All my anger, and all my hatred—everything—is reserved for the enemies of my faith and my country. Even if any one of you were to tear me to pieces I cannot quarrel with you, You will be my brothers and friends always. (Hear, hear and applause). Well, I promise you, if you all— all those who are for independence—within three or four months show to us and the world at large that you are fit for independence, I will, on my own responsibility, call for a special session and we will unfurl the flag of independence. I go to Mussalmans and they tell me this: 'Oh Khilafat, no use; the Hindus are treating us badly it is all the fault of the Hindus.' I go to the Hindus and my other friends and ask: 'come and work.' They say: 'The Mussalmans are getting out of hand. They are dreaming to put a Mussalman King on the throne of Delhi. We must kill them first.' Before God I am declaring I am speaking God's truth. The Hindu is a sure man i. e. a brave man in front of a Mussalman. When opposed to a mild Hindu, the Mahomedan is one of the bravest of the brave. But when a question of this Government and the Englishman comes both of them are shaking with fear. I have no time to waste over empty threats. If you are ready to make this country a free country you will not find me on the side of those who want to keep it back. Brothers and sisters, from 4-30 in the morning I have been working. I am also fortunately presiding over the Khilafat Conference this year along with my brother whom you have honoured and given the chair. I told them the time has come for work. Within an hour

we, in our Subjects Committee, passed 15 resolutions including one of practical rebellion. What has your Subjects Committee done in four days? (Cries of "shame"). Our Mahatmaji is in jail and we are discussing about January, February, March and April! Friend brothers and sisters, I support the creed which Mahatma Gandhi so wisely devised. That gives me and you all actual permission, we can, to win independence and Swaraj within the British Empire. If not, we go outside (cheers). I ask you all to stand firm by the creed which Mahatma Gandhi has given us as long as it gives the fullest scope to all our energies. I think we can get independence within it. I oppose all amendments to the creed.

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Moulana Mahomed Ali, before putting the resolution to vote, ascended the rostrum and spoke thus:—

I apologise to the House for having delayed the decision on this question so long. My position is a very difficult one. I have to stay the whole day long in the Subjects Committee which the House does not do as a rule. These discussions are interminable and nobody likes a closure but sometime or other votes have to be taken. But even that is not a closure. Those who are defeated then immediately serve a notice upon me, like the Government, and I am bound to obey it (Laughter). They give notice that they will move the same thing here. Now there is no check whatever at all upon this excepting people's goodness. The President cannot give all the good sense he possesses to every speaker and the Congress gets the speakers it deserves. Everything depends on the Congress itself. You give your decision in such a way that it will prove to the world that you are sensible men. You must prove that you are not carried away by personalities. You must also prove that you are not carried away by empty rhetoric, and you must also prove that you are not carried away by the desire for notoriety. This will depend always upon your votes. It is in your power to stop all these things. People may impress you with their personality or with their desire for notoriety or with their rhetoric. One thing I would like to say because I was several times mentioned in the course of this debate. One speaker in seconding the motion said that he was bringing this forward because nobody has greater love of freedom than myself. But when I said that I did not support him, he dropped me like a hot potato. But it is not with reference to that that I ask to bring in one name. There are people who were yesterday shouting over a small matter—when they were victorious in a division—"Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai." I said to them: if Mahatma had been here he would have been grieved over that shouting of that "Jai" for such a petty matter. There were men who mostly called themselves Gandhites and yet to-day they are opposing Gandhi who had opposed this very thing at Ahmedabad, and they are the very people who carry posters saying we believe in principles and not personalities. I don't want you

to be impressed by the Mahatma's personality. I don't want you to be impressed by my personality. Least of all would I ask you to be afraid of the big bulk of my brother there (Laughter).

OUR PAST RECORD

"But I want you to take stock of the present state of the country. Several members in the Subjects Committee implored my friend, the mover of this resolution, not to bring it forward again. They said you will be compelling us to give our votes against this which might appear to the Government and to others that we are opposed to the principle itself or to complete independence. Several speakers and several gentlemen in the dais said they would not like to oppose this resolution although they would vote against it because they don't want it to be taken that they are against full and complete independence. But they said, "Look at the present state of the country. At the Ahmedabad Congress Gandhiji deliberately rejected this. Have we gone forward since those days? Is there more temperance in the land? Is there larger Congress membership? Is there less of untouchability? What is it in which we have gained? It is like a man who cannot meet the claims of his creditors and says to himself: "I will be a bankrupt to-morrow. Because I shall be able to pay only 4 annas in the rupee." He says, "let me spend 3 as. or 4 as. more so that I need pay nothing in the rupee. Bankruptcy is all the same." So the less we work for liberty the more we shout for it and we make ourselves the laughing-stock of the world. As your President, please excuse me if I don't wait to be made the laughing-stock of the world. This is all the explanation I have to offer to you about my own self. I quote the words of my absent leader: 'They talk of complete independence, but they do not define what complete independence is.'

MEANING OF SWARAJ

"Swaraj is no Swaraj unless it makes more completely a free India in the sense that there shall be no slavery. If India is to be governed according to the will not of Indians but outsiders, this is no Swaraj, but if India has to be governed according to the wishes of Indians, that is Swaraj. But it is within the power of Indians to declare at any time whether they would like to have any connection with Great Britain or not, and whether the connection is wholly incompatible with Swaraj in any sense, that is, to be ruled according to the wishes of foreigners. Therefore that kind of connection is ruled out by the word Swaraj. It is possible to have a connection with the British Empire—a connection of freedom.—So Mahatma said:—Swaraj within the Empire if possible and Swaraj outside the Empire, if necessary. I say the same. I am not afraid of proclaiming to the British Government that I am prepared to walk out of their Empire. But I am not ashamed to say I am prepared to live within the Empire but live as a free man. I give them a year and give myself and give you one year. It is an ultimatum to the

Government and it is an ultimatum to my friend who has moved the resolution. Let him show what work he does within the year. It is not sufficient to go to prison for six months under a special arrangement from the U. P. Government. Mahatma is not going to be sentenced to six months under special treatment."

At this stage Mr. Gouri Sankara Misra complained to the President that his remarks might prejudice the voters against voting for the resolution.

Moulana Muhammad Ali said: "I am merely stating my own position. I said it is not enough to go to prison for six months or even 6 years. The difference between Mahatma and others is not that he is sent to jail for six years, but that he loved India and worked for India. My position is this. Work like him for 12 months outside the jails. If at the end of that, you do not get Swaraj as a price for your work, I am your man. If at that time, I fail you you have every right to say I have sold you. But if you think that you have done sufficient work to demand the prize of Swaraj at once, do it. If you cannot be influenced by the judgments of the Mahatma, I am sure you cannot be influenced by my judgment. I don't wish to prejudice you by what my position is. I want you to take my own position entirely out of your consideration. Vote absolutely, freely, independently, of what has been said by any individual. Judge for yourself. As I said in the beginning, you will be responsible for this judgment to God and to man (Cheers)."

The original resolution and all amendments were lost by an overwhelming majority. The Congress was then adjourned.

Fourth Day's Sitting

COCANADA, 31ST DECEMBER 1923

The Congress met on this day to consider the most important resolution of this session, viz., the COMPROMISE RESOLUTION. By this resolution the breach between the "No-changers" and the "Swarajists" or the Council-party, which was ever widening since the Gaya Congress a year ago and had but partly been repaired at Delhi, was now fully made up; and once more the Congress emerged at Cocanada as a united body of Nationalists, some to work through the Councils, others outside it, for the country's emancipation. The resolution is now famous as the DAS-ACHARIYAR COMPROMISE, being a compromise between Mr. Das as the leader of the Swarajists and Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the leader of the No-changers. The opposition to the compromise was led by Mr. Shyam Sunder Chakravarty of Bengal who wanted not to recognise the Delhi resolution which, he said, was not a non-co-operation resolution at all, for it allowed permission to the Swarajists to enter the Councils, and there was nothing of non-co-operation at all in that idea. He had a very strong following and was strongly supported by many able non-co-operators who roundly accused their leader, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, of deserting their principles.

CONGRESS DEPARTMENTS.

On the Congress re-assembling, after the usual processions and songs, the President moved a resolution.

On the motion of Moulana Mahomed Ali the Congress passed the resolution calling upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible, to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of Constructive Work under its supervision and control. The Working Committee should also submit a scheme of national corps of paid workers who could carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient help to the Central and Provincial Secretaries and local office establishments.

The Das—Achariyar Compromise Resolution

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, then moved the compromise resolution. In moving his resolution in the open Congress, he said :—

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers, I place before you a proposition which I want you to carefully consider and accept in case

it meet with your approval. The first thing that we have to settle in this Congress is what is to be our future work. We all know that the Congress as a whole is determined upon non-co-operation. But we have to decide what part of non-co-operation and in what manner we shall work during the ensuing year, in what manner we have to act under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali during the next 12 months. We all know what Maulana Mohammed Ali wants to do so far as he himself is concerned. He has told you already and it is that we must concentrate on the constructive Programme adopted at Bardoli not merely in policy, but day to day work and with strenuous and concentrated effort. I, therefore, want you to accept that programme of work and if you do that, one part of the proposition that I place before you must be approved by you. You must decide upon carrying out the constructive work which is part of the non-co-operation programme.

Another part of the resolution which I place before you is a declaration that we still adhere to the principle and the policy of the triple boycott. I shall be brief and therefore straight and to the point. I want you to adopt the principle and the policy of the Triple Boycott as inaugurated and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want you by this resolution to adopt the Triple Boycott by going to platforms and immediately and aggressively enforcing the programme or calling off the lawyers, school boys and the Councillors. We must keep that principle as insisted and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi before us; for we want to carry out the constructive programme without disturbing the atmosphere prevailing in the country and getting the concentrated effort of the people. This formulation of the Constructive Programme is necessary because I feel that the atmosphere in the country has been disturbed by what we have been talking and doing regarding the Councils. That declaration of policy is the re-affirmation of the Congress policy as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and forms the second part of the resolution. Another part of the programme is a clear expression of our determination not to undo what we did at Delhi or to disturb those who acted under the Delhi decision. It does not mean that we adopt that policy for the future. It only means that we do not disturb what has already been done. These are the three things that form this resolution.

AVOID THE AFTER-MATH OF WAR.

I have given them to you in the order of importance according to my opinion. Another important consideration I must place before you for adopting this resolution in the form in which I have placed it. The most important consideration why you should adopt this in the form in which I have placed it before you is that this resolution will be supported by Desabandhu Das and his friends from whom we have had the misfortune to differ up till now. (Hear, hear) Why does he give its support? It is because he does not want battle now, but simply wants you to accept the facts as they are and we want

him to accept the facts as they are. On our part, we should not disturb what has been done at Delhi and on the other part he should not divide this House again over the programme which to him appears right and which the Congress has hitherto failed to accept. But he does not want you again either to adopt his programme here or to reject it. I recognise the fact that the Congress has the same policy to-day which it had before. I do not think I need add anything more to this except that, if an alternative were before you, whether you want a stronger resolution after a battle with all its consequences or whether you have this resolution which contains the substance of what we want, without the evil effects of the battle and a war, I would certainly prefer the latter. I want you, men who agree with me in the policy with which my name has been always mentioned up till now, I want you to rely upon yourselves and not rely upon the services of others except in so far as they are pleased to give it. Every man and woman must depend upon himself or herself. At the same time, he ought not to do anything to prevent other people from assisting him. You might take it from me that even where union is not possible we might at least avoid the aftermath of a bitter war. But if we proceed with work and forget the passions for war, we might get union even. I shall not detain you further, but proceed to read the resolution which is as follows. Mr. Konda Venkatappiah will follow me later on and will read the resolution in Telugu. But you will pardon me therefore if I stop reading only in English and allowing time to other speakers. What my friend said must be enough for all those who do not know English. (This is a reference to the translation of his speech into Telugu made by Mr. D. Gopalakrishniah). Those who know English might like to know every word of the resolution and therefore read it.

THE RESOLUTION

"This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

"Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

"This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committees to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal."

Continuing, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said : I do not place before you a more complete and detailed programme of constructive work because in the present state of want of homogeneity each Provincial Congress Committee will have to consider what particular items are more urgent and necessary and possible and therefore will have to be considered. That programme will have to be considered by the executive of the Congress in consultation with each particular province.

But one thing is clear : that we give a mandate to our executive to concentrate on constructive work. Details with reference to the propriety of words and phrases in this resolution have been thoroughly threshed in your Subjects Committee and the Subjects Committee has recommended to you this resolution in the form I proposed it. I want you, therefore, as a National Assembly, of men intent on business, to accept this resolution without further doubt or discussion. We don't want to ask those who have entered councils to come out. The fact that we gave them permission at Delhi continues and we don't alter that permission. What was decided at Delhi remains without being extended by a single inch or fraction of an inch. Know also that it is not reduced by a single inch. That is all that I have to say (cheers).

MR. C. R. DAS

Mr. C. R. Das who was cheered as he ascended the rostrum to speak, contrary to expectations made no speech, and said : Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I do so formally now and reserve my speech if there is any necessity for it later on.

SHYAM SUNDER CHAKRAVARTI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti moved his amendment. It reiterated the non-co-operation and triple boycott without making any mention of Delhi compromise. It runs as follows:—

"This Congress re-affirms its adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co operation including the Triple Boycott as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi as the only means of attaining Swarajya and calls upon the people to take further steps towards the fulfilment of the programme by (1) mobilising the public life of the country through the Congress so as to increase its hold on the people and maintaining an attitude of dissociation from the legislatures, (2) establishing Panchayats for the private settlement of all disputes and by refraining from having recourse to Government courts, (3) by organising national institutions for the education of the youth of the country and dissuading attendance at schools and colleges run under Government auspices, (4) by increasing the production and use of Khaddar, (5) by abolishing the sin of untouchability and, (6) by achieving national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of intercommunal relationship and pro-

using the spirit of brotherliness between the Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Parsee, Sikh and other inhabitants of the country."

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarti in moving his amendment did this under the resolution of S. Rajagopalachari the non-co-operation movement was greatly affected. He would have no quarrel with the Swaraj party if they would do constructive work. But so long as it was destructive work, this Congress which was intent upon constructive work alone must not allow the Swarajist to identify themselves with the Congress. If they did the Congress would become the butt end of ridicule.

MR. JAGAT NARAIN LAL

Mr. Jagat Narain Lal in submitting another amendment to S. Rajagopalachari's resolution urged the deletion of the word 'Delhi.' He said that while he did not suggest that they should rescind the Delhi resolution, they must not re-affirm it. Mr. Haradaya Nag supported him.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel said that the Delhi resolution was an accomplished fact and to go back upon it now would be dishonourable. The Swarajists had secured victories with the support and in some cases with the sympathy of the Congress voters. Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution, therefore, gave them the maximum possible in the circumstances. It pledged the Swarajists to give the non-co-operators facilities for constructive work and would enable them to go to the country and tell them that they must not expect any result from the Councils. He added that constructive work required great political sentiment to make it successful. The psychological moment for them would arise when either the Swarajists failed to get anything as the result of capturing the Council or when they broke their pledges to the electorate. Then would be the opportunity for the Congress to disown them or their programme. But at present they must leave them alone and in the meantime carry out the constructive programme on the basis of Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution.

Mr. Azad Sobhani in his characteristic solemn style supported the amendment of Mr. Chakravarti. He said that three years' achievements since 1920 were due out and out to Non-Co-operation programme while since they had begun to entertain compromises their work had come to a stand still.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, whose speech was perhaps the best in the Congress, opposing the resolution said in support of the amendment:—

Referring to the amendment, namely that the word 'non-co-operation' should be deleted from the words 'non-co-operation resolution of Delhi,' he said: Now if you look at the paper you will find altogether a new import and a new significance

attached to the non-co-operation resolution at Delhi. It says in Mr. Rajagopalachariar's proposition—"since doubts have been raised by reason of the non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council Entry". Now this Congress for the first time in the history of the Congress ratifies the idea that the resolution at Delhi is a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council Entry. (Hear, hear). This is a position to which you are unwittingly and inevitably brought. I beg your pardon, imperceptibly being committed. I tell you, it is a most dangerous and pernicious position to take up in the Congress. (Hear, hear). For the first time you are putting your seal upon the proposition that non-violent Non-co-operation has got two aspects, has got two strings to the bow,—one string which will work from within the Councils and another one which will work from outside the Councils. I challenge any one to deny that the language will bear this interpretation that I have given. That is why Babu Hardyal Singh has asked to delete that expression. But I am not satisfied with it. I want you to go further and examine the position and the conditions in the land; to see whether, after we have been in Delhi, we wish it is not our duty to say, definitely and once for all what should be our attitude towards the political problems in this ancient land, whether we should achieve our salvation through the Councils by a process of boycott from within or apart from the Councils and irrespective of the Councils by a process of non-co-operation from without, by a process of mobilisation of public life through the Congress institutions, having nothing to do with the Councils. I honestly feel that just as at Nagpur after Calcutta you said that people should be out of the Councils, so having regard to the conditions of the present day to the antecedent circumstances of the present hour, it is your duty, certainly, not to ask for the withdrawal of candidates, but to say that the Congress has, apart from the political questions of the country, nothing to do with these Councils. (Hear, hear). Will you or will you not make that position clear? But I have had one difficulty in the matter.

The language which has been adopted in the resolution has been misinterpreted in certain quarters as meaning that dis-association from legislatures signifies and includes dis-association from the Council party. I say, I repudiate such interpretation altogether. This Congress repudiates all association with, and all connection with, and all hope through, the Legislative Councils in so far as its emancipation is concerned and yet reserves a most hospitable, a most respectable, a most well-deserved corner of this Mandap for Desabandhu Das and Pundit Motilalji and all his noble comrades who are striving to the best of their lights for the emancipation of the country also. (Hear, hear). Therefore if anybody comes and tells you this evening that you are dis-associating yourself from the Council Party by this amendment, I ask you not to accept that proposition (Hear, hear). I have described to you the nature of compromise that has been entered into. It is painful to me, it is presumptuous

on my part to stand on this pulpit and say that I have the audacity, the courage, the duty to differ from men like Rajagopalachariar and Allabhai. But, gentlemen, we have to do our duty here. It is not a question of personalities. We feel honestly that we are wearied and that the leaders having fought and fought and fought gain feel that the time has come to call for a truce. So they have adopted this for an armed neutrality for the present (applause). And, as a compromise like the after-math of war in all arbitrations of international fight bears in itself the future dissensions, the seeds of controversy, and contains ample, abundant and exciting material for interpretation, misinterpretation and mal-interpretation of the resolution, each according to his tastes, his abilities and his lights. Is that a compromise? Do you in the name of compromise want to adopt a formula in respect of the interpretation in which already there have been differences. One does not know whether the word 'forthcoming' in the Delhi resolution is an expression which included only those foregone elections or as the forthcoming elections, in the next six months, one year, three years, twenty years, hundred years. (Laughter). Mind, we are not undoing Delhi. No sensible man would address himself to such a fatuous and foolish task. Delhi is here written large like those Empires of Delhi that lived and vanished in the past. The Delhi resolution also lived through and perished. There is an end of the matter. We cannot undo it. We cannot repeat it. We cannot confirm it. It is as fatuitous to try to repeat it as to reaffirm it. That is our objection to the inclusion of the word 'Delhi,' however simple, however beautiful it may look or the suggestion that the word 'Delhi' should be deleted. This removal is not a simple matter. It goes to the heart of the compromise. It goes to the very root of the adjustments that have been made between the parties. Therefore I do not think that you can readily delete the word unless you delete the whole paragraph. But my contention is not merely to delete this paragraph or to delete that. But that if a vicious scheme or a vicious resolution has been formulated it is your duty to delete through and through and replace it altogether by a different resolution namely, that which has been sponsored by Babu Syam Sunder Chakravarti. The purpose is compromised. The nature I have explained. At Allahabad we entered into a compromise. Nobody came to our help in making the Gaya collections or even carrying on the Gaya programme. The purpose was compromised. At Bombay the No-vote campaign was abandoned. It was always a policy of 'you give and I take.' Nobody came to our help with regard to the collections of money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund that we organised so widely, so nobly, as having been promised or collected. They vanished the moment the compromise was settled. Again we had a compromise at Nagpur. Later we had a compromise at Waltair and the greater compromise at Delhi. These compromises have never helped us. It is a compromise between parties who are

looking in two different directions without a state of common bond. No doubt our pathways are divergent and one looks at the Council work for the emancipation of the country. And there are as many interpretations in regard to the conduct of the people that have entered the Councils as there are in regard to Non-co-operation itself. This interpretation has differed from 148 Russa Road to Bandra, Bombay (Laughter), and these interpretations will go on multiplying and multiplying. What replies have been given? All in the name of Non-co-operation (Laughter), and of non-violent character.

As regards the recent shump in the constructive movement, the speaker said :—Political tides have always their ebb and flow. The flow of this tide was at Ahmedabad, we are now in the ebb. Are we to be stranded on the beach and say that this tide will recede for ever and will not take us into the bosom of the ocean, or are we to bide only time and catch the Government at its weakest moment and then mobilise the whole country in such a manner as it can respond? (hear hear). Or, are we to adopt two views of non-co-operation, one view formulated by Gandhiji based upon the doctrine of self-purification, based upon the doctrine of suffering, based too upon the vital and noble principle : do not resist evil but overcome it with good. The other based upon the doctrine of retaliation,—a tooth for a tooth, a nail for a nail, a shot for a shot, a blow for a blow. Go to the Councils and wreck them to the best and throw them into the Bay of Bengal. In your ways create quarrels, make life impossible for Governors and Governors-General, dictate terms to them from your palaces and then win Swaraj from your own home. These two views have been explained and formulated in the country. Which view, you gentlemen, who represent the vast masses of India, are you going to take? Are you going to take the compromise in which all the sophistries and all the palpable fallacies and all the tortuous intricacies of the human intellect have been grouped and formulated. (Cries of 'No no'). Or will you ask plain, honest, straightforward questions and expect straight replies?

It was never he said, contemplated in the history of Non-Co-operation, that the Delhi resolution was a non-co-operation resolution in respect of Council entry. I tell you the whole sea of danger lies there. And to-morrow it will be open to our friends, notwithstanding any assurances that may come from this platform, that deadlocks are permitted by this resolution, and I challenge the whole intellectual world of this country to deny that to go into Councils and invoke the authority of the Indian National Congress for the formation of deadlocks is contained in this resolution. (Cheers.)

SJT. T. PRAKASAM.

Sjt. T. Prakasam in supporting the compromise resolution

I oppose the amendment so ably moved by Babu Shyam Sundar hakravarti and supported by Dr. Pattabhi Sivarajah. This is an amendment which re-affirms the Triple Boycott in express terms. The object of the amendment is to solidify the nation and to promote national unity amongst ourselves. I will ask you to consider what the first clause of this amendment says, whether the means suggested is not one which would destroy every chance of solidifying the nation (Hear hear.) You consider for one moment, my friends, so passionately what is it that is proposed now, this amendment—to carry on propaganda from this day forward—when you pass this amendment in the House—to carry on propaganda to the country, to every village and to every home in the country, and that to the effect calling upon the people to dis-associate themselves from the legislatures. What are these legislatures? Does that expression mean the Councils or the persons who go there to represent the voters who sent them there? (hear hear). Dis-association—if it is dis-association from the bricks or from the mud walls of the Legislative Councils, I have no objection. But if it is dis-association from friends who had entered the Council halls just a few weeks ago, I will ask you to consider what you are doing. Three months ago in Delhi, in all seriousness, you passed a resolution stating that those persons and friends who have no religious or conscientious objection had the liberty to enter the Councils, to give their names as candidates. Those who have no such objection are at liberty to give their votes to such candidates.

Now what has happened during the last elections? How many of the no-changers and how many of us voted at the elections. How many of us sent these friends into the Councils, relying upon the permission given under the resolution. I admit there is no mandate. Now, in three months, you turn round and tell our workers to go to the country and tell those very people, that those who have gone to the Councils are undesirable people, dis-associate ourselves from those persons. It is nothing short of treachery and betrayal (shame). Secondly, the resolution says, 'the object is to achieve national solidarity by strict adherence to the principle of non-violence in all matters of inter-communal relationship and promoting a spirit of brotherliness'—does this propaganda create a spirit of brotherliness at all if you go and preach against those very friends whom you permitted to enter the Councils? Does it not create bitterness, hatred and ill-will which we all noticed in the past—an impasse which made it impossible for us to go forward with our constructive programme?

Sj. Prakasam proceeding continued: Have we not found the position more difficult every month as we went out into the country, on account of wrangling, on account of controversy, and the quarrel amongst the leaders? The country was looking agnost all the time at what has been happening in this world of ours. Mr. Muhammed Ali had the courage at Delhi to take his heart in both his hands and face

the situation in the same manner in which Mahatma Gandhi faced it when he recorded the Bardoli decision (Hear, hear). When he cried halt at Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi, the author of the movement, himself was not spared by all of you (Hear, hear). The last words which Mahatma Gandhi gave us when he went to jail were — 'Carry on the Constructive Programme I have given you. All the political prisoners will be released and you will be able to establish Swaraj without anything else if you carry on the Constructive Programme'.

Don't commit yourselves, he said, to an untrue position created by the amendment of Shyam Babu. The resolution of S. Rajagopalachari lays down that the principle and policy of triple boycott is maintained. Accept that and reject the amendment (Applause).

Dr. Kitchlew said that the resolution put it clearly that the Congress policy in respect of Councils remained unaltered and that if any Swarajist, in his election campaign, has given a wrong version, the main resolution before them should clear it.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S REPLY

After all the numerous speeches Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, replying to the debate, said that he did not at all agree with the view that dissociation from Legislature would mean dissociation from their friends in the Legislatures. They had, under this resolution, every right if they felt necessary to say that they had nothing to do with the Legislatures and that they should not look to them, but it was not right to say that they dissociated from persons in the Legislatures, including Govt. members. Not only did they claim the right of dissociation from Legislatures, but also dissociation from Courts and Schools. But it was quite another thing to decide whether they would take an aggressive propaganda or not in future. He could not accept the amendment of Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, because it gave the go-bye to the Delhi resolution. They should not ignore what was done at Delhi. If the Delhi resolution was not a Non-Co-operation resolution, then why should some people bother about it. But if it was a Non-Co-operation resolution why should they not say so and declare their policy as before. They could not undo what they had done at Delhi with open eyes, without affecting the prestige and integrity of the Congress. They could do so if the people were prepared for aggressive triple boycott. But what they wanted was foundation for constructive work. In this resolution there was Non-Co-operation in all its force and there was an authority and mandate for constructive work for the next year, 1924.

THE VOTING—AMENDMENT LOST.

After a prolonged debate in which some 20 members, including Mr. Shankat Ali and others took part the counter-proposal of Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti was put the vote and declared lost. On a poll being demanded, the house divided,

with the result that the proposal was lost, 413 voting for and 703 against it. The original resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari was then put and carried.

The Wrangle in the Subjects Committee

As this compromise resolution, the only non-co-operation resolution of this Congress, was the most contentious of all matters discussed, below is given an account of what happened behind the Congress, in the Subjects Committee, and the delegates' meetings.

The Ali Brothers were, ever since their release, trying to bring about an union between the two parties into which the Gaya Congress was split. At Delhi a compromise was patched up and at Cocanada it was sought to be confirmed. This gave occasion for all the old dirty squabbles once more to raise their heads. The Cocanada compromise, according to Sreejutt Rajagopalachari, is not equivocal. He admitted the Delhi Compromise resolution as a Non-co-operation resolution on prudential grounds and gave it a touch of ratification on the ground of expediency. He surrendered Non-co-operation orthodoxy a bit for the sake of consistency. It is to be remembered that he did not or could not attend the Delhi special session. He sent a wire, when the compromise resolution was being discussed, asking his colleagues Vallabhbhai Patel, Jinnah, Bajaj, Deshpande and others to abide by the decision of Maulana Mahomed Ali and by doing so, he made himself indirectly, if not directly, responsible for the compromise resolution adopted at Delhi. That being his position he and his colleagues who directly or indirectly supported Maulana Mahomed Ali at Delhi could not consistently throw him overboard at Cocanada. When Sjt. Rajagopalachari spoke at Rajapur he seemed to have struggled once more against the Delhi resolution. But when Maulana Mahomed Ali and he met shortly before the Cocanada Congress and the Maulana presented his case before him he had no other alternative than capitulate. Maulana Mahomed Ali, however, admits that the compromise resolution adopted at Cocanada is capable of more than one interpretation and that is necessary for the purpose of pleasing both the parties for the sake of peace; he refuses to resile from the position he took at Delhi before a reasonable lapse of time. Those of the orthodox Non-co-operators again, who were directly or indirectly no parties to the Delhi resolution could not accept the compromise. So opposition to the compromise resolution was decided upon. Sjt. Shyam Sundar Chakrabarty gave notice of his resolution which was eventually defeated as an amendment. Mr. Hardayal Nag gave notice of an amendment for the deletion of the words "and Delhi" in the first clause and the word "Non-co operation" in the second clause. Negotiations went on to make the compromise resolution acceptable to all and the discussion on the subject was put off from day to day. In the meantime other resolutions were dealt with.

Negotiations for bringing all the parties to a common understanding falling, Mr Rajagopalachari's compromise resolution with Pandit Syamsundar Chakravarty's counter-resolution as amendment and all other amendments were duly placed before the Subjects Committee. In Rajagopalachari's resolution Mr. Das's name was put down as seconder, but he did not turn up in the Subjects Committee after his defeat in the open Congress on the Bengal Pact. Speculation was rife that he will leave the Congress the very day. Mr. Motilal acted as his substitute in a later stage of the proceedings. Pandit Syamsundar Chakravarty made a splendid speech. Mr. Vijayraghavachari also made an excellent speech in support of his amendment in which he bitterly criticised the language of the compromise resolution. Pandit Motilal Nehru made a strong personal attack upon Mr. Vijayraghavachari directly, and severely criticised his reversion to legal practice. Mr. Vijayraghavachari retaliated and the matter became an incident of mutual personal recrimination between two ex-Presidents of the Congress, much to the shame of all. When all the amendments were lost and Rajagopalachari's resolution was carried, the President made an appeal not to carry the amendment to the open House. But Syam Babu immediately gave notice that he would move his amendment in the open House. Sriji Jagat Narain of Behar placed a written notice of moving Mr. Nag's amendment in the open House. A rumour spread in the Congress that the Ali Brothers would leave the Congress if Rajagopalachari's compromise resolution was defeated. A very strong feeling was created in favour of the two Moulanas who strongly declared themselves in favour of the Triple Boycott, but at the same time they were unwilling to be a party to the wholesale rejection of the Delhi compromise. Sriji Rajagopalachari spared no literary skill to make the draft of the compromise resolution acceptable to the orthodox No-changers and the Swarajists. That the Swarajists were not fully satisfied with the draft appeared from the speech of Pandit Motilal Nehru in support of the resolution. Mr. Das also took the same attitude when he rose to second the resolution in the open Congress. His seconding without any speech meant nothing but want of whole-hearted support. In answer to a straight question whether the Swarajists would interpret the Cocanada compromise as extending the Delhi permission to coming bye-elections, the Pandit said that S. Rajagopalachari's resolution was a compromise resolution and that it meant perpetuation of the Delhi permission. He said, "we say, we are Congress, you say, you are Congress"—this was a serious position and it appeared as if small parties were again to devote themselves only to capture the Congress. Maulana Mahomed Ali's skilful handling however averted this and he was especially glad that after the final settlement each party could interpret the resolution in its own way.

Fifth Day's Sitting

COCANADA,—1ST JANUARY 1924.

The Congress met for the last time on 1st January to dispose of all business transacted in the Subjects Committee. The House was weary and there was a general desire for the speedy disposal of the agenda. Some of the resolutions adopted in the Subjects Committee were therefore put from the chair and passed without discussion.

ON KENYA.

Mr. Muhammad Ali, in putting to vote the resolution of greetings and sympathy of the Indian Nation to the Indian community in Kenya, said that the question of Kenya could not be solved without the big question of Kenya in India (Swaraj) being solved. The speaker was once told that when Lord Sinha went to the Imperial Conference as a representative not of India but of India's foreign Government the Prime Minister of Canada discovered that Lord Sinha did not represent the Nation of India but of an unnational Government and asked Lord Sinha to go back to India and return as the representative of a National Government, and now Dr. Sapru, his successor, was reminded of the same fact by the representative of the Free State of Ireland. Though slaves could not free slaves, even slaves could express sympathy with slaves in their slavery. Hence the message of the Indian nation through their delegates, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph, that the slaves of India meant no longer to be slaves. Yesterday's decision, he said, had settled all the errors of the past Congresses, Delhi, Gaya, Nagpur or Calcutta, and now the decks were cleared for action. Now, this Congress must decide to win freedom in one year and thereby win the freedom of Kenya.

The resolution was then passed.

TWO RESOLUTIONS

Two other resolutions were also put from the chair and carried. One appointed a Committee of four residents of Ceylon to report on the conditions of life to which the South Indian labourers in Ceylon are subjected, and the other authorised the Working Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Congress.

THE AKALI SIKHS

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then moved: "This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities,

and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis and all people of India to render all possible help to the struggle, including assistance with men and money. The Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

Dr. Kitchlew, convener of the Satyagraha Committee, emphasised his view that the Akali struggle was now a National struggle and any defeat of the Akalis for want of help from the Congress would affect the prestige of this National Assembly. They must all emulate the example of the non-violent Sikhs and be prepared for Civil Disobedience at any moment.

ON AN ALL INDIA KHADI BOARD.

The most important resolution authorised the appointment of an All-India Khaddar Board to organise and carry on Khaddar work. Moulana Shaukat Ali who moved it described his own position on the Board.

The Board consists of Sjts. Jammalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Kewa Shankar Jagjivan, Ve'ji Nappu Belgaumwale, Moulana Shaukat Ali and Shankarlal Banker (Secretary)

The Board shall hold office for three years and vacancies are to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever called for, the Board will act as the central authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C. With regard to Khaddar work, and in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees it will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

The mover said that his position on this Khaddar Board was that of a big drum (laughter.)

Mr. Mahomed Ali :—Then we will continue to beat the big drum (loud laughter.)

"Look at this ungrateful brother," retorted Mr. Shaukat Ali amid roars of laughter, and continuing made a strong appeal to the assembly to spin yarn and wear khaddar even if they could not shake off this Government. By the time Mr. Gandhi came back from gaol they could, at least, present before their chief an India clad completely in khaddar.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in seconding the resolution said that this Board might have to raise loans in order to carry on the khaddar programme. If this Board could establish a reputation for raising loans in the open market in a more convenient manner than the Government, which has power to tax the people and to

vern the people by force, then this Congress would have replaced the Government of force. They might ask, what was there in addar? They must remember that the votes at the last general elections went to khaddar caps. A letter had been received by the tyagrahis of Borsad that they would not molest people dressed khaddar and with white caps on. That was the magic of khaddar. ere were great potentialities for khaddar work in India d he, the refore, asked the Congress to give their moral support to it.

Mr. J. M. Ghose alone struck a different note. He thought that addar was not a workable programme. A man working at the arka for the whole day could not earn more than two annas. less there was protection, it was impossible to carry their programme to a success. As he proceeded to explain his views, the esident's bell rang and the speaker withdrew. Later from his at he withdrew his opposition, and the resolution was carried midst applause.

INDIAN EMIGRATION

Another resolution put from the chair advised the people of dia to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration om India for labour purposes and called upon the Working Committee to examine the matter and report to the All-India Congress mmittee.

NEXT CONGRESS

Mr. Kowgalji of Karnataka next invited the next Congress to his ovince and promised not to change the resolution passed yesterday Non-Co-operation. The devotion of Karnataka to Mahatma andhi was, he assured, so great that they would see Mahatma andhi as the President of the Congress. The Congress accepted the vitation of Karnataka.

The Congress next expressed its thanks to the retiring Secretaries id elected in their places Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Kitchlew id Mr. Deshpande.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE'S THANKS

Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, on behalf of the Reception Committee, thanked those who made the Cocanada session of the Congress re great success it had been. The Reception Committee had on it our thousand persons belonging to villages, as well as towns, making his Congress pre-eminently a people's gathering. He thanked the Municipality for their help in various directions and the Railway uthorities for their liberal arrangements to suit the convenience of elegates and visitors. The army of Volunteers, several of whom including the Captain had been to gaol, were also thanked for the dmirable manner in which they acquitted themselves during the ong session. Mr. Venkatappayya, concluding, said that the Congress ra more united to-day than in the Delhi session. This unity was reatly brought about by Mr. Mahomed Ali through his tact and bility.

Mr. L. Subbarao proposed a vote of thanks to the President which was supported by Mr. Vaidya and Mr. Prakasam. All paid eloquent tributes to the masterful personality of Mr. Mahomed Ali who believed that Indians knew how to unite against a common enemy. The last speaker (Mr. Prakasam) referred to the change that had taken place in Mr. Peter Zaviscky, who was an American journalist visitor to the Congress, who before coming to this assembly was clad in his usual costume was now dressed in khaddar, wearing a white cap.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on behalf of the assemblage, thanked the Andhras for their hospitality and specially mentioned the name of Mr. Sambamurthi. Pandit Motilal Nehru endorsed Mrs. Naidu's observations.

Sardar Mangal Singh of the Gurudwara Committee joined in paying his own tribute to the Congress on behalf of the Sikhs.

The President's Concluding Speech

Moulana Mahommed Ali in bringing the Session to a close said :—

We are to-day in a new year: let us ring out the old and ring in the new. Let us with the new year start a new era. What right has Mr. Kowjalgi greater than myself to invite the Congress to Bijapur? My name is Mahomed Ali Bijapurkar, and as such, I formally deny the right of Mr. Kowjalgi to take my place. The Reception Committee has already been thanked by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, by Pandit Motilal Nehru and others. I should also like to thank them, not only on behalf of the delegates, but on my own behalf. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has thanked the owners of this plot of land, the municipality, the merchants and practising lawyers. That shows that there is use even for co-operating with the lawyers. May I also express our thanks to those leaders of the Liberal and the Justice Parties in this province who have responded most cordially to our invitation? One of the leading lights of liberalism and journalism thanks that I am changed beyond recognition. I am afraid my friend had never recognised me before (laughter). However, it is not my fault; I am a No-changer. I hope this man is wrong in saying that there is nothing in common between these non-co-operators and the liberals, for I hope one thing is common between us and that is the love of this land (cheers). I have already stated in my opening address, and I repeat it, that we will not have to wait very long for a united Congress not only of the No-changers and Swarajists but also of Liberals and Moderates in this land. We shall always be a combined and united Congress. But, then, I am not quite sure we are going to have another Congress in Bijapur; I do not want that the record of the Congress over which I preside should be beaten by the Bijapur Congress over which my friend Mr. Kowjalgi wants Mahatma to preside.

Work of the Session.

Friends, let this be the last Congress and let us at Bijapur open THE PARLIAMENT OF INDIA (Loud and Prolonged applause). I thank the Volunteers, in spite of the fact that they are not such disciplined people as I and my friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is one of our new Secretaries. I feel certain that there was plenty of love and willingness in them and a deep desire to serve the country and those who were working for the country. I have never in all my life seen crowds more enthusiastic, more alive, more intensely national than the crowds that I have been privileged to see both at Bezwada in 1921 and at Cocanada now. I feel certain that, if we resolve to start a campaign of Civil Disobedience, Andhradesa will be able to give us some men who shall match our Akali brothers in bravery and courage, something like 50,000 to carry on the campaign of Civil Disobedience in the same peaceful manner as our Akali brothers are doing. And last of all, I would like to thank our Subjects Committee. They lost time and I lost temper. But while you think that we were wasting our time, I would like to remind you that the dish that we have prepared for you is not a European dish which could be cooked in five minutes by an electric stove. Ours has been the curry which is slowly cooked up for several hours in order to be a tasteful dish. If we have spent much time in bringing resolution before you, I assure you that time has been spent in doing our best. Needless speeches have been made, needless amendments have been put forward and needless divisions called for, but yet I felt that the greatest desire on the part of the Subjects Committee was to see that their work was well done and that they should not bring anything here of which they should feel ashamed. However, every Congress gets the President that it deserves, and if I have failed in being always courteous to my friends, I hope they will remember that this is their own Karma (laughter). And this reminds me of another Karma to which allusion was made by my big brother. He said he should have been made the President and not I (laughter). Even without being made the President, he has been worshipped far more than I myself. (Renewed laughter). There is a saying which means that the fat man is always a respected man. No matter how I could rise to the height of the occasion, I could never equal that man who is 7 ft. by 5 ft. In order to remove this inequality between us, God evidently chose me to be the President of the Congress and him to be the peace-maker. (Moulana Shaukat Ali rang the Presidential bell at this stage, as if to remind Moulana Mahomed Ali that his time was up, and evoked a loud burst of laughter from the House). He also told you that he was the big drum, and naturally, I said, as the President of the Congress, that it would be my bounden duty to beat the big drum (loud laughter). Then he told you of his childhood tales, how he used to clothe himself in fine English tannels and beautiful French silks. And this is Karma again that he is in charge

of the Khaddar Board. He told you how he beat you black and blue, and again, it is Karma that I am going to beat him now (laughter).

The future Indian Republic.

I retire now, I hope, as the last President of the last Congress. The first PRESIDENT of the FIRST INDIAN REPUBLIC or, at any rate of the first National Government should preside at Bijapur over our National Parliament (Cheers). Friends, forget not when you go from this place that there is one man still in prison who does not ask you to free him but who certainly asks you to free yourselves, for in your freedom is his freedom as well (Hear, hear). And in your hands, I once more remind you, is the key of the Yerrawada jail. I think we have found the metal of which that key is made in Andhra-lesia (Cheers). Let us use the key and open the gates of the Yerrawada jail. Swaraj will have no ambiguity about it when once you have won it under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. I ask you, friends, once again, to remember him now and to stand up, every one of you, and raise three times the cry "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai." (Loud and and prolonged shouts of "Jai").

The proceedings of the Congress thus terminated.

A Cosmopolitan Dinner

The same evening the members of the Reception Committee gave a cosmopolitan dinner to all the delegates and visitors of the Congress. Men and women of all castes and creeds, Hindus and Mussalmans alike and a few untouchables as well, three or four thousands all put together, sat together in the Reception Committee's dinner hall and had a very sumptuous dinner. Moulana Mohamed Ali was given a seat in the midst of orthodox Hindus, while his wife and mother were cordially received by the Hindu ladies. The dinner was strictly vegetarian and contained very rich dishes. After dinner was over, a few speeches were made and the Moulana was loudly cheered by all as he drove back to his hut.

THUS ENDED THE COCANADA CONGRESS

Resolutions of the Cocanada Congress 1921

The following is the full text of the resolutions adopted by the 38th Indian National Congress held at Cocanada.

[The Resolution amending the Congress Constitution is not included here—see p. 114]

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of S. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Sjt. Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pandit Pratap Naryan Bajpeyi who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable condition.

THE NATIONAL PACT

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi session of the Congress do call for further opinion on the draft of and criticism on the Indian National Pact and submit for further report by the 31st March, 1924, to the A. I. C. C. for its consideration and S. Amarsingh of Jhabbal be included in the place of S. Mehtab Singh who is now in jail.

VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of National Work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers under the control and supervision of the A. I. C. C. except as regards its internal management. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the formation of the All-India Volunteer Organisation and accords it its full support.

SEPARATE CONGRESS DEPARTMENTS.

Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon the Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the A. I. C. C. for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more sufficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control.

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and sufficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments.

That this Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to adopt these

schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

THE COMPROMISE RESOLUTION—THE TRIPLE BOYCOTT.

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gava and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council entry whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the triple boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

ON KENYA INDIANS.

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian community in Kenya and, while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

ON INDIANS ABROAD.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes, and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

ON THE AKALIS.

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

The Congress authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS [COCANAD SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE.

Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Session of the Congress and further resolves that the Satyagraha Committee henceforward cease to exist as a separate Committee.

SJT. VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR.

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinaya Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. I. Savarkar and other members of his family.

ALL-INDIA KHADDAR BOARD

It is resolved that an All-India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahatma Gandhi, Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu Belgau Walla, Shaikat Ali and Shankerlal Banker as Secretary, with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general supervision of the All India Congress Committee and to raise funds (including loans) therefor in addition to allocations that may be made from the Central Funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever else called for. The Board will act as Central Authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C. with regard to Khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees it will supervise and control the Khaddar Board established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

OUT-GOING SECRETARIES.

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries.

OFFICE BEARERS.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed.

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew.

Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande.

TREASURERS.

Sjt. Velji Lakhamji Nappu. Sjt. Reva Shankar Jagjivan Jhaveri.

AUDITORS.

Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co. be appointed auditors for the year.

NEXT CONGRESS.

This Congress resolves that its next sessions will be held in Karnataka.

N. C. O. Resolutions

Calcutta—Nagpur—Ahmedabad—Gaya—Delhi—Coonarda

We give below the full texts of resolutions passed at the various sessions of the Indian National Congress commencing from the Calcutta Special Session under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai.

CALCUTTA SPECIAL SESSION, SEPT. 1920

"In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the British and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word, given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him :

"And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and especially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frigiditiness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceroyal pronouncement is proof of an entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab :

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs and that the only effective means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of, and adopt the policy of, progressive Non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

"And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion ; and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its Law courts and its Legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, the Congress earnestly advises the

- (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominal seats in local bodies ;
- (b) refusal to attend Government levees, darbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials in their honour ;
- (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by the Government and, in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various provinces .

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by Lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes ;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;

(f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reform Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election ;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

"And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and handweaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement."

NAGPUR SESSION, DEC. 1920

"Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and

"Whereas people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to Khilafat and the Punjab ;

"Now this Congress, while re-affirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf—

"(a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children, and the children themselves, under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided, or in any way controlled by the Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools ;

"(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions ;

"(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government-affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them ;

"(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration. ;

"(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a general boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee ;

"(f) and generally, in as much as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement ;

"(g) by organising a Committee in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-co-operation ;

"(h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service ; and

"(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and Non-co-operation in general.

"This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-co-operation, especially with regard to the boycott of councils by the voters, and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Council and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councilors.

"The Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will renounce to subordinate their creed and conduct to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

"And the Congress appeals to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

"This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on Non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that 'non-violence' in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a spirit

of democracy but actually retards the enforcement, if necessary, of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

"Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of Non-Violence and Non-Co-operation with the Government, and inasmuch as the movement of Non-Co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity, and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes."

AHMEDABAD SESSION, DEC. 1921

"Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of adoption of Non-violent Non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special Session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine (till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible Corporation).

"And whereas by reason of the arrest uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even Committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration, to offer themselves for arrest by joining to the Volunteer organisation to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolutions of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

THE VOLUNTEERS' PLEDGE.

"With GOD as witness I solemnly declare that :—

1. I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.
2. So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain Non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be Non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced, Non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.
3. I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

4. I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economical and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun hand-woven Kaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

5. As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

6. I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

7. I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even DEATH for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

8. In the event of my imprisonment I shall not elope from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

"This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the Volunteer Organisation.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings and in as much as Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of Committee meetings and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"This Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporation has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India to organize Individual Civil Disobedience and Mass Civil Disobedience, when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of Non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

"This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

"This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions, and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

"In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilized in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India congress committee including the powers to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be

exercised between any two sessions of the All-India Congress Committee, also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

"This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all his successors appointed in turn by his predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

"Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any treaty or agreement with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by a Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the powers of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

"This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now under imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realise that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

GAYA CONGRESS, DEC. 1923

"Whereas, the boycott of councils carried out during the elections held in 1922 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which the Government thought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule, and

"Whereas, it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year, as an essential part of the program of Non-violent Non-co-operation.

"This Congress resolves to advise that all voters do abstain from standing as candidates for any of the councils and from voting for any candidate other than himself as such in disregard of this advice and signify the abstention in that manner as the All-India Congress committee may instruct in that behalf."

DELHI SPECIAL CONGRESS, SEPT. 1923.

"While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of Non-co-operation, this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have religious or other conscientious objections against entering legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections, and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering Councils. The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to double their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and by united endeavour to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment."

COCANADA CONGRESS, DEC. 1923.

(See the *Compromise Resolution P. 153.*)

TENTH SESSION OF THE
All-India Khilafat Conference

COCANADA—27TH DECEMBER 1922.

The tenth All-India Khilafat Conference met at 8 a.m. in a special and spacious pandal erected for the occasion.

As soon as the Conference assembled a flag, said to have been presented to the Indian Muslims by Khilafat-ul-Musalmin, was brought in procession and the whole audience rose to pay homage to it amidst cries of "Allah-o-Akbar."

The proceedings began with prayers from 'Al-Koran.' Then the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Anwar ul zaman, read his address. He wished prosperity to the Turkish Republic and urged redoubling of efforts to secure freedom of Khilafat. He deprecated *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* movements and urged their abandonment.

Dr. Ansari then proposed Moulana Shaukat Ali to the chair in a felicitous speech seconded by Messrs. Jawahirlal Nehru, Yakub Hassan and others. The President was then garlanded amidst cheers.

The Presidential Address.

The following is the translation of Moulana Shaukat Ali's Presidential address which was delivered in Urdu at the All-India Khilafat Conference, Cocanada.

"Allah-o-Akbar ! Brothers,—It is a matter of great happiness to me that, with your permission, in my capacity as President of this year's All-India Khilafat Conference held at Cocanada, I am in a position to express my views about the stupendous work we have before us. You may be knowing that when released from the Betul jail, we, Mahomed Ali and myself, both went straight to Amritsar which had become an important battlefield after the Jallianwalla tragedy. You had done me the great honour of electing me as President of the Khilafat Conference in my absence this time. When I was in jail, I very much wanted that you should once more confer upon me this great honour this year also. We could not get any news from outside the jail. Nevertheless, accounts of the relaxation of efforts, and unpleasant communal disturbances did reach us

from time to time. But I assure you, in spite of the iron gate, the jail and its four walls, never was I dismayed nor did I lose heart for a minute. On the contrary, I always felt that the real tin work had at last arrived. It was for this reason that I looked forward to your conferring upon me the honour of electing me President a second time so that I might be enabled to relate before you and the world at large the feelings that surged in my heart and hope that these feelings of mine might perhaps touch the people in your hearts.

"Having heard my story, they are pleased :

"I hear now that they have sent for a story-teller."

I am grateful to my dear brother and friend, Dr. Kitchlew, also to my revered brother and companion of the Karachi jail, Ghulam Majadid Sahab, who, through some mysterious telepathic influences, divined my innermost feelings and withdrew their candidature for the Presidency of this Conference.

I hope I can rely on your indulgence if by way of digressing I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you that, after a continuous experience and close companionship of almost four years I found in my brother Saïdullah Kitchlew a sincere, honest, selfless and undaunted and intrepid worker. Along with others he and I were co-Secretaries of the Central Khilafat Committee. We lived in the same room and were thrown together all the twenty hours of the day, in each other's constant company I had full control over all the activities and, instead of being an impediment the way his services were at all times ungrudgingly placed at disposal. I doubt if my own brother Mahomed Ali would have loved me so loyally. God be thanked that even in these days of anarchy, we have got amongst us men of such stamp and calibre who command the confidence and respect not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India. This is a meagre but sincere acknowledgment of the services that I am making before you from this platform to-day to my revered brother Pir Ghulam Mujadid, is there any one amongst us here in this assembly to-day who, having met him once, has carried away with him an indelible impression on his heart, of undoubted sincerity, profound devotion, self-sacrifice and true Islamic fervour? All these noble qualities were fully demonstrated in jail at Karachi, and on coming out of the jail it gave me pleasure to learn that the first man who gave whole-hearted support to the resumption of Civil Disobedience was our brave Pir Saïd. Here is the man who, along with his hundreds of thousands of followers, will be the first to take the field and revive the traditions of the simple and sincere Muslims of the decayed pristine glories of Islam!

NO LEARNED SERMON

Brothers, you are fully aware that I am neither a learned theologian nor can I claim to possess complete mastery of

political situation of the day. I have also no hesitation in confessing that in matters connected with the Khilafat and the Islamic world, many of my colleagues and co-workers possess greater knowledge than myself. There is however one thing which impelled me to entertain the ambition of presiding over the deliberation to-day and that is that, in the matter of understanding the feelings and mentality of the generality of the Mussalmans, there is not one amongst my co-religionists who can claim greater knowledge than myself. I enjoy this privilege not only because I constantly came in contact with them, but also as I belong to their own class and lacking full knowledge in matters religious and secular, I unhesitatingly draw upon the learning of the Ulemas on the one hand and the experience and sagacity of the political leaders on the other, and both have always ungrudgingly placed their help and advice entirely at my disposal. Do not, gentlemen, therefore, expect to hear to-day a learned address replete with political wisdom and sagacity or full of minute intricacies respecting the legal and constitutional position of the Khilafat. What I will say will be the story of the sufferings of the heart of a simple-minded Mussalman who profits from experience and relies on his zeal and love for Islam and trusting God jumps into the fray regardless of consequences and renders whatever service he can.

'Oh Bulbul, keep on crying and bewailing.'

'Oh guest of the Cage, keep on entering the Prison.'

'Be it wailing, crying or heart-burn, 'tis sigh'.

'Oh thou unhappy heart, keep on doing what thou canst.'

HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

Brothers, before I open to you the volumes of my hopes and aspirations regarding the work before us, I should like with your permission, to reiterate plainly and in unequivocal terms, the views of my co-religionists to the British Government. These views are not the views of the learned and the educated section only, but they are the views of the man in the street. Also these ideas afflict the minds of every Muslim, man or woman, howsoever occupied he or she may be, at least once in 24 hours. Great Britain should at once understand that sufferings and disasters have at last roused the Muslim world. Every fresh difficulty, hardship and calamity, every fresh plunder of a Muslim country, every fresh attempt at disunion among the faithful, no matter how minor successful it may appear, shall drive but one and only one result,—it will rouse the Muslim to a greater consciousness of their responsibilities and prepare them still better to discharge their duties as Muslim. I take back your minds to 1910 and 1911 and compare the then state of affairs with the conditions obtaining in 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923 and what you see to-day is only the beginning of what is to follow. Greater difficulties are still ahead. Every Muslim now understands Great Britain. Ask any Muslim in any part of the globe—Who is your enemy?—and you will get the

will get only one reply—"GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH NATION I honestly and truly declare that this answer is a correct one. are not foolish children and cannot permit any one to pull wool over our eyes. We cannot be deceived by sweet words. Thank God have able men amongst us who are capable of shouldering the responsibilities of the most important of the chancelleries of Europe. We are fully aware that it is due to the wrong Muslim policy of ministers that her Empire is showing visible signs of disintegration and if our warning is not listened to the result will be nothing but wreck and ruin. It is only the beginning.

ATTEMPTING THE IMPOSSIBLE

To the British Government the President said :—You hang Maulana Abul Kalam, impale Maulana Abdul Bari, crucify Maulana Abdul Majid, blow Dr. Kitchlew from the muzz of the gun, hack Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari to pieces, grind Mahmood Ali, Shaukat Ali and their friends to dust, scatter it to the winds so that no trace of it may be found anywhere and along with these destroy that true and religious Hindu fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim in their fight for religion because he believed and believes that in the war of right and wrong it is the duty of truly religious-minded persons to side with the righteous. Nay, "bury alive" that brave Sirdar of Hindustan, Yarrowada or light the fire and burn him alive as a martyr or funeral pile—do all this but you cannot kill this genuine movement. All such attempts will lead to the disruption of the Empire. I request you with all respect and it is necessary with folded hands not to ignore or treat us with indifference after our loud and repeated protests. This attitude will not benefit you in the long run. Time will come when you will be forced to accede to our demands. Your belated acceptance of them will be of no avail nor will it help you to say that you did not know. We have told you a time before and we repeat it once more that not all the Empire, the world, not all the wealth and treasure this earth holds, not the kingdom of the world, not even the choicest things this world can boast of, can hold against an inch, nay not even an atom of the holy land of Jazirat-ul-Arab and the holy places. You have the power to change your foreign policy and change its orientation or else die at present circumstances there can be but one course left for every Muslim, man or woman. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab is under non-Muslim influence, a Muslim cannot have peace of mind. To-day looking to our diminished condition and weakness you may laugh at my assertions, may treat our warning with contempt, set up against us any number of our weak-hearted Muslim brethren, including some of the so-called Ulama, strangle us with the brute force at your command. But as the Divine existence cannot be obliterated by these puerile attempts, so also this movement set on foot by His humble devotees cannot be destroyed. The Holy Quran very clearly lays down for us:

"They entertain the intention of pulling the Light of God, while He has determined to make it perfect, no matter how much the infidels take it ill."

"My prayer, my virtue, my life, my death, my standing, my sitting, and my every work is for my real Master, my real King and for that Master who is the owner of both the worlds, and is the Creator."

We had forgotten this teaching and hence had sided with you, helped you in the war and formed two-third of the army which wrested Jerusalem from the hands of the soldiers of Islam, the brave Turks and the Khalifat, our Rasul, and handed it over to you. These unfortunate Mussalmans had, for the paltry sum of ten or fifteen rupees, owing to their ignorance, disregarded the divine word and struck at the very root of Islam.

NEVER AN ENEMY

Although I was not your enemy before, now I am your enemy as well as of your Government. Believe me and don't listen to the advice of your councillors and flatterers. I pledge you that even in the heart of such flatterers comes the thought of a Prophet and of God now and then, though not daily, and would also feel sorry like me. I feel sorry for these men and my heart grieves for them. I pray to God that just as He is kind on me and on you, so also would He brighten their hearts with a light-ray that they may also join us, throwing their caps in the air and shouting mud like 'Analaq.' It is of course possible. To be hypocrite in this favour is a sin.

'We have never abstained from the cornices on oil-stem.'

'But God has never aggrieved our heart.'

'We tried our level best (to go to) the hell.'

'But Thine Kindness did not like it.'

My word may seem harsh to you but if you hear them with patience you would come to know that this is no bitter poison. On the other hand it contains the keynote of your Government and of your nationality. Mahomedans are now wide awake and the darkness has vanished away. Every day would see them taking long strides towards progress. Retrogression is now impossible. All the efforts of the enemies would surely prove fruitless. My God and His Koran never speaks false:—

"Among the weakest house the weakest is of a spider. All the efforts of the infidels and the heretics for deceiving the Mahomedans would be destroyed like the spider's web."

It is why my brother and my aged mother and like us many of our co-workers, are determining to enter the field in the name of God without caring a bit for life and do not take rest so long as we do not attain our aim.

'O! Curiosity be happy for some good news is coming.

'To-day the morning breeze is coming.

I can say that in my childhood the first man who has produced any effect upon my heart was an Englishman whose name I am ashamed to mention viz. Theodore Cook who has taught me; other young Mahomedans to dream the prosperity of Islam. With it he had also taught me that there should always exist friendship between the English and the Mahomedans. Since then I myself lived with the English people in the play ground, club meetings, and in every other thing. We have seen that after Crimean War, either owing to the fear of Russia or for our sake Britain was considered as the friend of the Khalifat and of the Mahomedans. In 1911-12, I, with his Highness the Aga Khan, made a tour round India in the capacity of the Secretary of the Muslim University to gather a fund of thirty lakhs in order to fulfil the increasing conditions of the Government. I had then a great desire that the Emperor of India may press such an electric button at Delhi that the Royal Muslim University may spring up at Aligarh. 17 years I have served in the Excise Department of the Government in the capacity of a high official. My notorious younger brother Mahomed Ali besides Aligarh, has also passed four years in the Oxford University and I know that he had great love for the thousands of the Mahomedans of India by becoming faithful to the Government have lost many of their own rights and of their country and having forgotten the teachings of the Koran, enlisted themselves in the army for the sake of 15 rupees and gave proof of their fidelity in cutting the throats of their own brethren in Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Somaliland, and in every country.

After all, would it not be proper for the Government to see this great change has come up among Mahomedans instead of sending us to jails and putting us to torture?

JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

Was it really the fault of the Mahomedans or that having taken advantage of our ignorance, they have made us to destroy religion with our own hands? Just think over your Islamic religion. Can to-day any responsible officials—Mian Mahomed Shafi, Abdul Kalam, Mian Ferozi-Husain, Nawab Saheb Chahdari, Nur Ali Choudhary, Mr. Gulam Husain Hedayet Ullah, Sir Habib Ullah of Madras, Ibrahim Khamat Ullah of Bombay, and Belhari Sahi and ask them to tell you whether the claims of the Central Khilafat Committee are in accordance with religion true or false. It is my belief that the only answer which would be given is this that claims about the Khalifat, the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and Holy places word by word true. The safety of the Government lies in this as long as it is possible it would retrace its steps and repent for mistakes with a sincere heart. Even if the inhabitants of Jazirat-ul-Arab ask you to live there, you should then leave them

go back to your own country, and never think of that barren desert again. Here lies your safety. In 1912 when Khuddam-i-Kaba was founded and when I was working under Moulaana Abdul Bari as a secretary, I saw the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi in that connection. At the very outset in order to influence my heart he expressed his anger with me and said "When there is already Sahib Ahmar, then what is the use of Hilal Ahmar and what is this Khuddam-i-Kaba?" When in response to this question my tongue began to utter words swiftly he said, "I can't follow you as you speak so swiftly. Speak slowly."

I laughed within myself and in reply showed my tongue to him and said "This is too thick. I cannot speak slowly. It is our misfortune that you have got a bad ear and I a bad tongue." Such a talk from a man dressed like myself had a very sobering effect on him. He thought it better to change his tone. After this I spoke to him plainly and said: "That land is all sand and rock lent to the Mussalmans, it is dearer than the paradise itself and it was sure to prove a veritable hell to the Non-Muslms casting covetous glances on it." At this he laughed heartily and said "You need not be so very anxious. We have got Australia, Canada and a number of other colonies. We are inhabitants of a cold country, what shall we do with a hot country? Why should we go there?" I said: "You are welcome to your colonies, Australia, Canada and all. We have no designs against them." But no number of such conversations and writings can have any effect. The developments which took place after this interview are known to everyone. I should once more like to inform Great Britain in plain words that if they want to be at peace with the four hundred million Mussalmans of the world she should leave Jerusalem, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz, Yemen, Nejd, Syria, Palestine, in short the whole of the Jazirut-ul-Arab to the inhabitants of that land and the Mussalmans at large.

Now I want to say a few words more. In 1913 I went to Deobund for the first time in order to seek the help of the Ulemas of that place for re-establishing Khuddam-i-Kaba. At the time there was peace in the country. The Ulemas had kept themselves away from those movements which had the slightest tinge of politics and we were not receiving from them that assistance which we deserved. The fear of the Government was very great and no one had the courage to oppose them. That was the time for work when enemies were more and friends less. It was the time for walking in the way of God.

Dear friends, continued the President, can't you recall that time when our movement was started in the beginning of 1920? Then there was no understanding, not a pie in our coffers; and no place for doing office-work. For the support of the Khilafat there were only a few men like Mian Mohammed Hajee Jan Mahommed Chhotani and some of his friends. The mass of our people were aware of this but there was no special arrangement. Thanks to God

that after the Conference of Amritsar, arrangements for pecun help had been made. The first contribution that came to Khilafat Fund was by an anonymous Zamindar of the Punjab w name they would be astonished to hear. By the grace of God movement grew stronger and stronger day by day till the Mahedans of all the countries began to take part in it. Moreover, great Hindu leaders, Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, were respected by the whole country, promised to help the m ment. After February Mahatma Gandhi began to take an ac part so much so that he called himself a worker of the Khilafat. He used to tour round India in furtherance of Khilafat work at last was arrested for writing an article on the Khilafat prob I want to tell you that the Non-Co-operation movement which now so successful and powerful, was embraced by the Mahomed with full reliance upon God and with the advice of Mahatma Ga in the Hindu-Muslim Conference of Allahabad. The Governn was asked to consider our claims and accept them by the las August. At Allahabad we had not much hope of the help of Hindus but at three o'clock in the night of the holy mont kamizan, we had resolved to sacrifice our everything for fulfil that religious duty. And we determined we would not take till the great God made us successful.

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION

Our deputation was doing its work and stating our claims be the Ministers of England, Italy, and France. The movement spr day by day, thanks to the efforts of the Mahatma and his frie and you would be glad to hear that as the Congress had no Fund the time, the Khilafat Fund contributed to the expenses of Mad Gujrat and the United Provinces Congress Committees. Fin in September the Special Congress of Calcutta made the Khilafat problem a National problem. It was again approved at the Nag Congress. Thousands of Mahomedans and Hindus came out work. We were under the impression that the Government wo use their discretion and not make matters worse. On the o hand, the Government spent all their efforts to check the movem The first attack was upon the Mahomedans which resulted in famous case of Karachi. The coming of the Prince of Wales, boycotting, the filling of the jails, and the imprisonment of D bandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Moulana Abul Kalam A Pandit Jawahar Lal, and Mahatma Gandhi were all known to public. The work was spoiled in the absence of the workers. worker remained. Weak-minded Mahomedans and Hindus ca out in great numbers to destroy the soul-invigorating movemen liberty. No movement of the world and specially that of freed and liberty was without its ups and downs. If they had victory day, to-morrow they would get defeat, but the courageous, pat and persevering nations always got victory in the long run. Ame fought for her freedom for 6 years. In the seventh year of that

America had for her army neither clothes nor money. No one was willing to take the national notes. The soldiers were flying to their respective houses in distress. Even the Commander-in-Chief took a bribe of thirty-three-thousand pounds from England and left the country in distress. In spite of all these, in the eighth year, small groups of brave men were formed and with great courage, patience, and perseverance began to fight the English. At the end of the eighth year they turned out the English from America. The pride of the Englishmen which found expression in the Tea Party at Boston vanished away. The English are up to this time repenting for it and admit their mistake. The British committed the same mistake in the case of Ireland and were repeating it on a large scale in the case of India. If that would not be rectified, the result would be similar i. e., those who fight for truth and liberty always succeed. Let them remember the events of Karbala and see what the Abbases had done. Now there was no trace of the Bani Umrades and their tombs. What happened in America, in the French Revolution, and in Ireland, and what was happening to-day in Egypt. If they were faithful and persevering in their efforts—which they were—they were bound to receive from God that help, which led to victory. They could now see the glimpses of it.

The Afghan Situation

In this connection, I want to tell the Government the views of the Afghans regarding the Mahomedans. The Mahomedans of Afghanistan are our brethren. It is our desire that they pass their lives as a free, God-fearing nation. We remain happy in our house and they in theirs. Being our neighbours we are ready to help them in every way. They may do us service which they can. The former frontier policy has been proved barren. They are spoiled by giving them thousands of rupees as bribe. They are made greedy and avaricious and instead of helping them their morals are spoiled. But its last result is now known to all of us. Now the treatment of the Government with them is very cruel. For trifling things and lame excuses airships are sent there, their houses are bombarded, and their little children are killed. This brave nation bears all this and when they get opportunity they kill an Englishman, a Hindu, or a Mahomedan whosoever happened to come before them and in this way they avenge themselves. Most often the Hindu and the Mahomedan soldiers are sent against them which breeds a sort of enmity with us.

In the Nagpur Khilafat Conference Mahatma Gandhi had moved a resolution which was seconded by me that His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan should not make a treaty with that Government with which we have non-co-operated; on the other hand he should make a treaty with the Hindus and the Mahomedans of India so

that we may pass our days in peace in one another's neighbourhood. We are not allowed to know the events of the Frontier and neither Hindu or Mahomedan leader is allowed to go there. To-day the western sky appears dirty which cannot be cleared by threatenings and the ultimatums. These things have been done thousands of times and thousands of rupees have been wasted and lives of thousands of the Hindus and the Mahomedans are destroyed for nothing.

Now another method should be adopted. I am quite sure that if a commission would be appointed, if Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Abdul Basit Sahib, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari and Mahomed Ali and such other leaders go there, they would settle the matter very nicely. I am quite sure that His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan and his subjects would try to establish friendly relations with their neighbour. Even to-day every little chief of Afghanistan knows the name of and respects the great leader of India, to meet Mahatma Gandhi. Would that the Government take advantage of this. We Mahomedans have explicit religious laws as well as the Fatwa of Ulemas. We Mahomedans never care for life in the preservation of Islam and in the exception of its duty. I inform the Government in plain words that if they fight with their neighbour quite contrary to our wish, then they alone would be responsible for it. India would never help them in this tyrannical act. England should spend her money if she is going to fight with Afghanistan.

Time for Work.

The present was the time for work. God, His angels, and prophets were looking at them. Their beloved Prophet, seeing the sacrilege of the Holy Places and their helpless but brave attitude was praying that the great God might give us the victory—this victory as would preserve the prestige of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan. May God perpetuate his country and his greatness—and have united the whole Islamic world at one common centre of Khilafat, Muslims might keep the Holy Places and the Religion safe and free from all impure and heretic influences.

Since he came out of the jail, he had been touring, inspecting very minutely the work of the Khilafat Committees. He found the bonds loosened but the links yet remained. He would tell the workers of India that it was not the time for thinking, but in the words of the poet:

'To part with the beloved or to part with the heart,

'I am now thinking what to do.

'Stand up and make a brave dash for the last effort.

'How the intoxicated one is going towards the place of killing

'Just see the attitude of the lover who has trifled with his life

He had every hope that in a few weeks the resolution and schemes of the work which would be presented to them, would change the situation. An army of workers in the name of Ghalib would be formed. Hearing the voice of a weak, humble brother, the hearts of every true Mahomedan would be affected and he would shout:

'Anyone should see whether it is the same wretched Dagh.

'The bewailing of someone is making me restless'.

Allowance to Workers.

Proceeding, the President said, he considered it his duty to inform them of his ideas regarding a certain matter. There has been there were many workers who had denied themselves all pleasures of the life and had spent all that they had for the cause. Now they were in great distress and wanted to retire. These men having given their whole time to the Khilafat movement did not want to accept low reward wherewith they might support the family. They had given thousands of rupees but did not want to take any back. He was sorry to say that the very thing on account of which they wanted to retire and which they hesitated to take from the Khilafat Fund was attributed to them by some of the workers. The result of that was that those able workers were leaving the Khilafat movement. In the words of Ghalib,

'See, he is also saying that I am shameless and notorious.

'Had I been aware of this I would not have given away the effects of my house'

He would not approve of that attitude but would ask them to remedy that defect. It was quite true that whenever any great movement started many men of bad principles and weak character had joined it. Sometimes loss of money had also been incurred, but those inevitable things had had to be faced, without stopping the work. Should they then close the shop of Islam simply because of some difficulties, or of some mistakes which had been exaggerated by their enemies for the detriment of their work. Should they compel the true soldiers of Islam to withdraw from the battlefield by annoying them. In his opinion the time had come when the leaders should come forward and set an example for others so that an army of soldiers might spring up.

He hoped they would excuse him if he said with pride that from the very first day to the time of his going to jail he had not spent more than rupees two thousand five hundred, which he could gather in one day's tour or in a few minutes in Bombay without any effort. He hoped that the Conference would think over it and would make some suitable arrangement for the maintenance

workers in distress. Then the President paid a tribute to Maula Hasrat Mohani and said that whenever he saw the condition of the Khilafat Committees, his memory came crowding upon him. He was the bravest among us and ten years ahead of us. To-day he was happy in Yeravada Jail and might be saying to himself :—

‘They are killing me for the crime of your love and so there is a great noise.

‘You should also come to your roof to see this pleasant sight’.

The torture to which the Government had put Hasrat Mohani and his other friends could produce no effect upon them. His poetry was a lesson for them :—

‘How can we create a taste like ours in others.

‘We are more tired of the disinterestedness of our companions

‘Our goal is not very far away.

‘But not when we left behind our caravan.’

And for them he says :—

‘The highest degree of despair is also the beginning of love.

‘We came again to the place whence we started.’

The Central Khilafat Committee should take in its hand the management of all those committees which had become weak and send the workers where needed. Some of his friends had given up and were not taking any active part in the movement. May God crown their efforts with success.

Khilafat Deputation

As regards the Khilafat, they had asked the Government for passports for the Delegations which they were sending to Constantinople, Angora, Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and other Islamic countries. The Government of India had enquired the names of members of the Delegations and the routes of the journey which should be sent shortly. They could arrive at a full knowledge of conditions regarding the Khilafat only when the Delegations returned. He did not want to attack the personality of His Highness the Aga Khan or Mr. Syed Amir Ali. Those two men had great love for Islam and were serving it in their own ways. Service to Islam was not reserved for any sect. Nevertheless they should keep in mind that one thing which His Highness had told Mirza Asadullah Khan, late Secretary of the Muslim League, and Mahomed Ali. Its purport was :—“I cannot serve the religion, the country, and the nation so much as you, or your brother, or Mr. Gokhale is doing. These men have no other work save this. You should expect only so much help from me as the Englishmen give to their country.”

That was His Highness’ frank statement. Taking it into consideration he would tell His Highness that he being far away from

India and not knowing thoroughly the feelings of Indian Muslims it was not proper to give opinion on any intricate problem, even though that opinion might be a right opinion.

The Khilafat Deputation, in the capacity of the representative of the whole of India, would wait upon *Amir-ul-Muslimin*, servant of *Harmain Shariain*—may God perpetuate his Kingdom and increase his prestige—and also upon *Sultan Islam Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha*, as well as upon the brave Turks whose courage, perseverance, bravery, and ability saved Islam from a great danger.

I have every hope that one day we would be able to strengthen the Turkish Empire, the Holy Places and Islam and so I request you not to make haste in this matter. Follow your own way in India with patience and courage and form an opinion only when you have the true knowledge of the affairs.

Fortunately, at this time, God has created some notable personages in the Islamic world. Among these the names of the *Khilafat-ul-Muslimin*, servant of the *Harmain*, *Shariain*, *Sultan Abdul Majid Khan*, *Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha*, and *His Majesty Amanullah Khan* are very remarkable. From the words which the *Khilafat-ul-Muslimin* has uttered it follows that even in this hard time, God has created a man in the *Usmania* family who would not only face all these obstacles, but also would surmount them and thereby not only save the prestige of the *Khilafat* but also enhance it.

God willing, our deputations would wait upon *Adiz of Hijaz*, *Sharia of Mecca*, and *Amir Faisul* and would make some satisfactory settlement with them. I, as the representative of the whole of India, say that the love which the Mohammedans of the world have for the Arabs and Arabia cannot be cherished for any other nation of the world. The land where God has built His House, the land where our beloved Prophet began his mission, the Holy Land where his sacred body is interred must be naturally loved by the Mohammedans. Our love for the Turks is due to the fact that within the Arabs and other races became weak they erected an iron wall of their blood and flesh between Islam and infidelity and checked the fast approaching waves of the shoas of infidelity with the wall of their breasts and saved the religion. Still our love for the Turks is far less than that for the Arabs. We now assure our Arab brothers that we cannot see them in the position of slaves even for a moment. The Holy Places, *Jazirat-ul-Arab*, and the *Hedjaz* are not their property but of all the Mohammedans of the world. We assure the Arabs that once the defects and groundless rumours are removed we would render them such a good service that the ray of Islam coming out of its fountain-head of guidance would illuminate the whole world. We hear that our Arab brothers are quite ignorant of religion and the worldly affairs, and that their moral condition is hopelessly bad. Quarrelling is a common thing among

them. They have become greedy of money, power, good cloth and luscious food. Hearing all this we cannot but weep for that the race which had taught to the world the lesson of self-sacrifice, which had given the life and wealth for Islam has now so much degenerated.

We hope that our Arab brothers would not misinterpret efforts for the establishment of the peace; but, on the other hand making full use of the self-sacrifice of Siddiq, courage and magnanimity of Faruq, contentment of Usman, and self-satisfaction and valour of Haider would try to make our efforts successful. I should also not remain behind any Mohammedan race of the world in the preservation of the prestige of the Khilafat and in assisting Khilafat-ul-Rasool. May God crown our efforts with success so that we may see again the whole world illuminated with the Ray of Islam.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

I consider it my duty to give you my views about the Hindu-Muslim unity. To-day we see that efforts are being made to disunite them, to destroy the Indian atmosphere in which we call the glimpses of Swaraj and liberty. No doubt those men are first class tools who for the prejudice of the few blame all and give a trifling thing undue importance. It is quite true that the untimely movement of Shuddhi and Sangathan has created such doubts and difficulties as may break the bonds of union between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. The enemies of the country and liberty, at advantage of this and fanned this fire to such an extent that weak-minded people of both the communities aggravated the matter still more. There was also another cause, viz. that even the Khilafat and the Congress workers began to fight a quarrel of trivial matters. The selfish entities in order to wipe out their past honour came out by the instigation of the Anglo-Indian papers and tried to smother the genuine movement. Many Hindu and Mohammedan candidates for the membership of the Council began the singing of the social services they had rendered in order to defeat their rivals. All these things have enriched the Indian political atmosphere. But thank God we now perceive signs of the victory of Truth as their tactics do not seem to be successful.

"The Truth has come and the Untruth is vanished away, and the Untruth is a thing that always declines."

Even in this difficult time, our Mohammedan community comparatively courageous. It is why I have a complaint to make against the Mohammedans—why they have lost their temper at the untimely movement of Shuddhi. Our Arya brothers are defending their religion for a long time, and the Shuddhi is also going on. It is the duty of every man to preserve and preach his faith and

religion. Our complaint is that it was not the proper time for giving momentum to this movement. It is the time for uniting together in order to face our common enemy with full force and put off our private affairs for settling at some other time. Nevertheless, even if it happened, the Mohammedans should not make so much noise and agitation. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema which comprises Ulema of every school of thought was existing. They would have called a meeting and would have sent a sufficient number of workers to check all this. It is quite true that just like other Anjumanis it has also become weak. However it was not becoming of the Mohammedans to quarrel in the way they have done. Preaching of Islam is the duty of every Mohammedan. It is our ardent desire to roam in jungles, barren places, and deserts of the world and among the savages whose hearts we may illuminate with the light of Islam. But this would be done when we are not confronted with anxiety and care. I shall very politely ask all the preaching Jamiatists that they should not continue with this noble work their individual aims and, having removed all the differences of opinion, they should prepare such a scheme that the work may be carried on nicely. They should also not make use of vituperation while discussing any religious question with the non-Mohammedans. Some of our brothers are so much terrified with this Shuddhi that they even go so far as to advise the giving up of the work of the Khilafat which is all the more important. I have neither fear nor anxiety about this Shuddhi movement that I should ask the Mohammedans to leave the sacred movement of the Khilafat and the Holy Places. Thank God, we have sufficient number of workers and contributors. All these movements may be carried on simultaneously and the aim of all is the Truth. The giving up of this movement will prove our cowardice, fickle-mindedness and stupidity. Our enemies would laugh at us. We should give proof of valour, patience and perseverance, and should remain calm and quiet even in the face of the greatest obstacle. We should again gather together and each worker should search out his field of action where he should work without censuring his other co-workers.

Need of Patience and Self-Sacrifice

I still advise you to spend all your power in the formation of a group of Mohammedans. We should strengthen our position to such an extent that we may be able to face and surmount the greatest obstacle with patience. I always ask my Mohammedan brothers to set up an example of patience, courage, and self-sacrifice. Had Mahatmaji been out of the jail, he would have taught the lesson of magnanimity to the Hindus. All that I see to-day would ever have come into existence. All this is due to our being the slaves of a foreign nation. Mahatma Gandhi had taken a leading part in establishing a remarkable union between the Hindus and

the Mohammedans and all these unpleasant events which have happened in the country are due to his absence. Many selfish men came out and tried to wile off the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and to regain their lost honour. I fervently hope that the cloud of dirt and dust would be dissipated when the Sun of Truth and Courage will shine brightly. Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly told you that the Hindu-Muslim unity is very essential for the freedom of India. In this connection, he never used ambiguous and equivocal words. I think it very necessary to tell you about certain events which may give you an insight into the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. We all put up at a Bungalow of a Hindu Gujarati brother at Calicut in Malabar. There his family was also residing. In the night we delivered lectures before a huge crowd, which was translated to them in the Malabari language. After the meeting was over I was to go to my waiting place. Mahatma Gandhi asked me to wait. I went with him into a very big house where Gujarati brothers and sisters were present—and I was the only Mohammedan among them. The Gujarati Hindus entertained with great hospitality wherever we went. I have heard many lectures and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi but the one made by that night produced a peculiar effect upon my heart. It perhaps the answer of the objection made by the Hindu "Press." said: "Many Hindus say 'What has become of Gandhi': he only takes part in their (Mahomedans') religious work, becomes their guest, but also takes the Mohammedans with him and waits in the houses of the Hindus? Is he not aware that the Mohammedans pull down the temples and kill the cows? Hence it is really a folly to give place to the Mohammedans in the houses of the Hindus." Mahatmaji then said in a painful tone: "Yes, I have to go to their houses and wait there and I take the Mohammedans with me and wait in the houses of other Hindus." It may be possible that in the days gone-by the Hindu women might have been disgraced and the temples were destroyed by the Mohammedans. I assure the people of this type that Gandhi has not turned back. Gandhi is a true Hindu. To-day he makes friendship with Mohammedans and thereby protects his religion. Mohammedans are brave people, ready to sacrifice their life and wealth for the sake of religion. As compared with them the Hindus are weak. By living amidst them the Hindus also become brave. To them myself and ask other Hindus to help them in their religious work is a social service. If the Mohammedans were to succeed in having a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat problem they would never forget the services we have rendered to them. They would have a great regard for us. The danger which the Hindus were anticipating from the Mohammedans would be averted by this. The Hindu would no more be dishonoured, the temples would not be pulled down, and the cow-slaughter would be stopped for. The Mohammedans respect the Hindu women like their own."

is no deceit or trick in it. Sincere love will bring forth true reward. The two communities will live together in peace and comfort."

The speech of Mahatmaji impressed all Hindu brethren and sisters. The effect it produced in my mind was very great. In my speech I said to my Hindu brethren that Mahatmaji had shown them his sincere heart and that it would be my duty to relate this event, word by word, to every Mohammedan gathering. I shall ask them that as brave and God-fearing people they should render double service in return for this one, and that they should never forget the brave Hindus, who as our comrades jointly faced the tyrannies and torture of the Government, gave their lives, filled the jails, and who even in spite of the recent unpleasant occurrences are ready to follow the order of their brave Mahatma.

Hindu Sacrifice for Mahomedan Cause

Now-a-days the sulphurous gases of the "German" War are blowing in the air, and a propaganda of envy and malignance is carried on, day and night. We see every day the fights between weak Hindus and the Mahomedans. It is my duty to inform the Mahomedans of the ardent desires of their true companion, sympathiser and co-worker. Mahomedans are not ungrateful, and are not cowards. To-day the intrigues have succeeded in setting the Hindus against the Mahomedans; but we are not likely to forget those brilliant services the Hindus have rendered to us. I have before my mind's eyes the faces of thousands of the Hindu men and women, which can never go out of my mind. It would be our moral weakness if we did not thank them for their services. A very short event will serve here as a good example. In 1921, I had to take the advice of Mahatmaji regarding a certain moot point. I went to his waiting place, but he was in the bazar, busy in the collection of funds for the Gujrat Vidyapitha. I began a search for him and when I reached the Juhani Bazar through the cloth market I saw there a huge crowd of men who noticing my Khilafat car began to shout and gave me way. At last I reached near Mahatmaji with great difficulty. He was sitting in the shop of a Hindu brother who gave him for national education a cheque for Rs. 1501 and put a garland round Mahatma's neck. Having seen me, that Hindu brother became very happy, threw a garland of flowers round my neck and gave a cheque for Rs. 1501 for the Khilafat. I said to him that I had not come for the collection of funds; but he said that he would contribute for the Khilafat also. The same thing happened in the second and the third shop i.e. the amount which was given to Mahatmaji was also given to me: We got each seven hundred rupees from the second shop and Rs. 151 from the third. Besides I got for the Khilafat Fund three thousand rupees more. Hence while we hear the petty complaints against the Hindus we should not forget such encouraging events. It is within my know-

ledge that the Mahomedans have also helped the Hindus in similar ways on different occasions. Both these communities should let these events go into the limbo of oblivion. On account of the death of Lokamanya Tilak the 9th of August 1918 was a Hindu day. All shops and the mills of Bombay were closed. Hundreds of groups of men were singing and going at Chopati near the mill. The heads of all these men were bare. A Pathan was also going with them with his cap on. Some workmen of the mill said to him in a harsh tone, "Put off your cap. It is the day of mourning for the saint," "I am also mourning for Tilak Maharaj, but on such occasions we do not put off our caps." Whereupon one of the workmen hit him with a stick and he got a long, deep wound in his head. He began to laugh and smile. The police men said to him, "Make a report in the Police station so that this man may be arrested." But he said, "He is my brother and to-day has tortured me. I will never make a report of him in your Police station. The next day he came to me by the Khilafat motor, and showed me his wound and related the whole story. I took him to my motor and Mahatmaji and said to him with a smile, "See, Mahomedan has got victory over your Hindus," and related him the whole story. Mahatmaji became very happy to see such sincere regard and true self-sacrifice and began to say, "It is a pity that you Mahomedans have won."

Refrain from Undue Criticism

Both these communities of India should have to make hundreds of similar sacrifices and have to refrain from censure and undue criticism. At last we have to mention the good things along with the bad ones.

We have now before us many stupendous affairs to be settled. Unfortunately, we cannot settle them so long as we do not have Swaraj, so long as the halter of slavery is round our neck. The Hindus and the Mahomedans fight for trivial things thereby strengthen all the more the chains of slavery so that they may never get freedom from it. The most important of all these is the problem of cow-slaughter. We know well the feelings of the Hindus, but the truth is that we are helpless in fully solving the problem. When the revenue of the land will be in our hands, we would stop the cow-slaughter and increase the number of goats by spending one or two crores of rupees so that the goat flesh may become cheap and common. In connection, I shall ask my Hindu brethren that just as they remained patient for a long time so also may they remain a little more. God will make a better arrangement. It cannot be decided by disputes and fights.

For the information of my Mahomedan brethren I have

them about the speech of Mahatma Gandhi at Calicut. Now with your permission I want to tell my Hindu brethren for their information about my own speech at Randir. Mahatma Gandhi was with me and both of us had given speeches. The zealous youths of Randir had given us welcome in their cricket pavilion. The President of the meeting had lived with Mahatmaji in Africa. At the close of the meeting he said in a joke: "I know that Mahatma is a Muslim in God, and it is our wish that God may make him a perfect Mahomedan." I and several other Mahomedans did not like this. Mahatma remained quiet, but I stood up and expressed before him the sincere feelings of a true Mahomedan. I said to him: "The best thing among the Mahomedans is to present the gift of Islam to our every non-Muslim guest. Islam is for every man but before we ask any non-Mahomedan to embrace Islam we should give proofs of our being true followers of Islam from the concrete instances of life. I now ask the President and all of you whether we Mohammedans have proved ourselves to be true followers of Islam to this Christian English Government, our Hindu brethren, or to the men of other religions. Have we not cut away the very root of Islam for the paltry gain? Are there not thousands of Mohammedans who are proud of their service to the enemies of Islam and give proof of their meanness? How many Mohammedans are there who have sacrificed everything for the Khilafat? Before we invite any non-Muslim to embrace Islam, we should first of all make ourselves true Mohammedans and give proof of our religious fervour and strength of faith. And then thousands of men would embrace Islam without our giving any invitation to them."

A Story

I related a story which was told to me by a Hutter from the Government and the servant of the Political Department. He was sent to Japan as a Government spy in order to get the trace of Maulavi Barkat Ullah and his companions and to find out their activities. He went also to Count Okuma, a Japanese Minister who treated him very kindly and heard patiently all his words. This man was a fluent speaker. He said: "We, the Mohammedans of India, have an ardent desire that the whole of Japan would become Mohammedans." The Minister asked him: "What is the state of Islam in India?" He replied, "The condition of the Indian Mohammedans is hopelessly bad. They have no education, follow no trade, their morals are depraved, and everything is defective and bad. May God do good to the British Government which has given us comfort, saved us from bloodshed and made every arrangement for our safety and comfort. She has prepared for us many roads of progress and prosperity, e.g., bridges, telegraphs, etc." When he asked him about the Arabs he said: "They are almost savages. They have no education, no art and have all the defects of the world."

in them. They are very greedy persons and as compared with Mohammedans of India they are no men at all." He then asked him about the state of the Turks and got this answer from him: "Their condition is hopelessly bad. They have no management. Bribery is rife, and the Turks are full of defects." When he began to speak against Persia and Afghanistan, he did not leave even a single rag on their body wherewith they may cover their naked bodies. After all this, he said, that it was his great wish that would bring all these countries under the sway of the British rule so that the inhabitants of these countries might pass their lives in peace and comfort, and forty crores of Mohammedans would live in peace and happiness." Count Okuma heard all this very patiently. When his shameful story was over he said to him in an angry tone: "Are you not ashamed of asking me to embrace a religion which is full of germs of slavery? No matter whether the Mohammedans are forty crores in number still, of whatever country they may be, whether of Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan or India, they are shameful and degraded. Though we are less in number, yet we have secured our freedom by fighting with those who are four times as powerful. Do you want me to give place in my country to such a religion the teaching of which makes men slaves and nothing else? All nations of India, Persia, Afghanistan etc., cannot be weak and cowardly; hence it appears that it is the religion which teaches slavery. It is also due to Islam that the whole country is in a deplorable condition. Please go away. I do not want to hear such nonsense."

An Infamy

It is a mercy to make the Islam infamous that we may now Mahatma Gandhi, Hindu brethren, and other communities to embrace it; because we have deviated from the right path of the Islam so are not presenting the truly beautiful picture of Islam before the world.

Dear friends! Do you know the aim of all this utterance of mine? May God give us courage, perseverance and His help so that we may sacrifice our lives for religion and be reduced to nothing and thereby, having given the proof of self-sacrifice, we may attain a new life. May we become true Muhammadans, and everything is easy. All the obstacles and difficulties would vanish.

Couplet:—

'A thousand days of grief and difficulty we have passed,

'Once the fortune belt in our favour, we then have everything.

We cannot attain our aim by chattering, boasting, and bragging. The world would not listen to us so long as we do not sacrifice ourselves for the attainment of our much-desired goal.

It is on account of the Great War and these calamities that our lives become pleasant, and that with all our sins we begin to

Islam. A new light has dawned upon our hearts. How true is it:—

'In love the pleasures I got are known to me alone.

'I have also endured griefs which are known to me alone.

'My both eyes grew tired in the Haram and Dar.

'I have seen so many sights which I know alone.'

'Dear friends! Do not lose courage. Our destination is very near. There is no loss in this business. Do not be tired of the present difficulties.

'Griefs and sorrows would decrease in two or four days.

'This time would also pass away in two or four days.'

I want to tell those Mohammedan brethren of mine who to please the enemies of Islam utter heart-wounding words, censure us and wish all the time for the destruction of this work, that they can do us no harm, and that this attitude of their towards us would make them notorious and simple. If they are unable to do anything, it would be much better for them to remain quiet. We are the mad intoxicated persons of Islam and so do not care at all for your abuses and censures.

Couplet:—

'They are giving me lacs of abuses.

'The interest-takers are taking interest.'

Work with Courage.

As to our brave experienced workers who are found in every part of India, I shall ask them to rely on God, and take the work of the Khilafat Committees in their hands. Begin the work with courage and every step you take must be a forward one. You will then see thousands of men responding to your calls.

Couplet:—

'When the noise of resurrection would arise from your street

'Even from how lacs of people are ready to hear it.'

I do not lose hope even for a moment. You may complain against the Central Khilafat Committee. You may find mistakes in our work. Your quarrelling with us and refusing to help us to-day do not make us hopeless. We shall ask you in this way; for we take interest in obtaining in this way. I have every hope from God that in spite of the unpleasant events of one and a half or two years, success is near.

Couplet:—

'The bewailing of the nightingale has produced its effect

'Take the hand, for the tower's foot loses ground.'

It is my belief that if you and I trusting in God, gather together and work for three or four months with our full force, our efforts

would surely succeed this time, and victory would run with its legs to us.

Couplet:—

'They are coming under the pretext of a visit on I'd.

'The prayer of the night of disunion has shown this day.'

Now what should I say more ? I like a Katta of Akbar and that I am finishing my story :—

'Thou may remain on your own way but condemn not the nation

'Give liberty to the legs of the sight, enchain the self-conceit

'Though thine work may remain limited and be for thine aim.

'Take memory as your companion. Don't shut the effect door of Nature on it.

'Rise inwardly, check bewailing, take work of the tongue for the sight.

'Put your heart in zeal, don't complain, show the effect, don't make any speech.

'Mix in the dust, and burn in the fire. When the brick is formed, the work would continue.

'Don't lay the foundation and don't build on the element of the weak-hearted (people).

Second Day's Sitting

Resolutions

On the Khilafat Conference re-assembling on the second day Maulana Shaukatali, President, put a resolution expressing allegiance to the Khalifa and praying for the prosperity of Islam under him. The resolution was passed by all standing, amidst shouts of Allah-o-Akbar.

TALES OF MOPLAH SUFFERING

The President next moved a resolution for the provision for Moplah orphans and families. He said the Moplahs' fight was with the Government, which had oppressed them. Thousands of Moplahs had been martyred but they owed a duty, both on religious and humanitarian grounds to these brave Muslims. While conceding that some Hindus had suffered at the hands of the Moplahs, he said the whole chapter was a closed book to them; but they had a duty to these brave men, and he announced that he and his brother would each provide for the maintenance of one Moplah orphan.

M. Abdur Rahman, a Moplah, addressing the Conference alleged that Government had given out only a propagandist version and had painted the Moplahs in the worst colour. He had come to appeal to the Conference to help thousands of distressed families and urge the Congress Committee to enquire into the Moplah affairs.

Dr. Mahmud said, that when he went to Malabar to make an enquiry he had hardly begun it when a Government order prohibited him. Although he was ready to disobey that order, and the brave Moplahs despite their unspeakable distress had asked him to disobey the order, he would have done so but for an order of the Congress and Khilafat Committees to return; still he had collected enough materials and he could soon publish his report based on the statement of Hindu witnesses leaving aside the evidence of the Muslims.

He gave an instance of a mosque in a Moplah village bearing desecration, the result of gun shots. He was told by the Hindus of the village that the Moplah women there were shot without reason and these atrocities occurred in a village which was not rebellious. He thought that the Moplah martyrs numbered far above ten thousand and the orphans and the helpless numbered still more. He hoped such a committee would soon be sent to the Moplah's country to bring to light the atrocities committed on the Moplahs.

The resolution was passed and funds were collected for the maintenance of the orphans. A number of Khilafat leaders, including Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Ansari and others, and Begum Mohamed Ali agreed to pay for the maintenance of one Moplah orphan each.

Third Day's Sitting

COCANADA.—30TH DECEMBER 1923

The Khilafat Conference held its third sitting on the 30th. the important feature of which was the speech of Mr. Mahomed Ali regarding the Khilafat funds and his justification not only for the continuance of Khilafat Committees but to strengthen them by re-organisation and appointment of paid workers who would devote their full energies to the Khilafat work.

RESOLUTIONS

Maulana Abdul Majid of Badaun moved :

"This session of the Khilafat Conference declares that the Khalifat demands of the Mussalmans were the following : (1) Complete freedom of the Turkish Empire, (2) Restitution of Thrace, (3) Restitution of Smyrna and the coast of Asia Minor, (4) Freedom and safeguard of Jazirat-ul-Arab.

"This Conference recognises that the treaty of Lausanne has brought about the decision of the first three demands but the question of freedom and safeguarding of Jazirat-ul-Arab, which from the religious point of view of the Mussalmans is the most important clause of the Khilafat demands, remains unaltered.

"This Conference, in clear terms and for the last time, declares that unless all provinces in Arabia are freed and are safe in the true sense the Islamic world will not rest in peace and shall continue the struggle with all its might".

Mr. Abdur Rahman seconding said : if Islam was to be safe its heart, Jazirat-ul-Arab, must be free from foreign control. While they would leave it to their Deputations to settle the position of Khilafat they stood for the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab under the Khilafat control. He drew attention towards the Akalis who, though a handful of men compared with forty crores of Musalmans, were sacrificing themselves to keep their Gurudwaras under their own management and these handful of men had won many victories against the Government.

Mr. C. R. Das.

Mr. C. R. Das advanced to the rostrum amidst the shouts of Allao-Akbar. He held out his support for this "resolution. He addressed the gathering as "comrades in the work of freedom and in the cause of Khilafat and in the Congress." His reason for supporting the motion was that he was a Hindu and because Hinduism enjoined "when the religion of your brother is oppressed by anybody it is your duty to extend your helping hand". Mr. C. R. Das men-

tioned that he was the first person to have urged the Congress to take up the Khilafat at Delhi in 1918. Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya, the President, then ruled it out, but the next year, the Amritsar Congress took it up. He assured the Conference that whenever their religion was attacked, true Hindus would always march with them. (hear, hear). "There are good men and bad men amongst the Hindus as there are good and bad amongst the Mahomedans. But let not the badness of a bad man deter you from the good cause. If the cause is good it will secure the support of all good Hindus. It is good Mahomedans and good Hindus who will carry your struggle to a successful issue" (cries of Allah-o-Akbar.)

Mr. Barucha counselled the Government to give up their present move and concede first the Muslim demands. He assured all communities support as regards the Frontier. He said, while individually the offenders should be punished, no war with Afghanistan would be tolerated. In case of such war the Indians would not stand by the Government (applause).

The resolution was passed.

"The Foremost Islamic Duty

Mr. Yakub Hussain moved : "This meeting of the Khilafat Conference re-affirms its previous demands and declares on behalf of the Mussalmans that the attainment of free and national Government is not only a political and national, but the foremost Islamic duty. This Conference reminds the Musalmans of India that in the path of courage and freedom to suffer is their Islamic inheritance. It is therefore the duty of the Mussalmans in this struggle for Swaraj that they should not only work shoulder to shoulder with their country-brethren but try to make an example in being ahead of their companions and remain firm in their untiring zeal and energy,"

Syed Hussain Ahmed, President of the Jamait-ul-ulema and Mr. Ahmed Sait supported. They pointed out that the Indians were slaves and provided a reserve for the British to enslave other communities. If, therefore, the Muslims of India wanted to save the neighbouring Moslem countries from troubles in future, they must make India free and deprive England of using Indian resources to enslave other countries. The resolution was adopted.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad next moved a resolution pledging the Hindu-Muslim unity and calling upon the community to safeguard the places of worship of all communities, to show tolerance and stand against the rioters to whatever community they might belong. Moulana Azad said that leaving aside the relations between the Hindus and the Mussalmans under the Mahomedan rulers, they know that for the last 150 years of the British rule up till 1920, not only the two communities were not united but the British had done everything to keep them apart. Up till 1920 not

a minute was spent to bring the two communities together. In 1920 their first effort was made. After three years their relations had again been strained, and he heard people declaring on that ground that the Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible to achieve. His counsel of despair was absolutely baseless and took no account of human nature. If the communities ever quarrelled, it sometimes took them five, ten or seven or fifty years to make up. That was human nature. Would they, therefore, declare that the relations between 21 crores of Hindus and seven crores of Mahomedans which had remained strained for ages will remain so for ever? Would they pass their judgment if after three years' experience some stray instances of conflict had occurred? If they did that they took no note of human nature. The time for passing judgment on Hindu-Muslim unity would come when they had worked for it for some years and even some decades. The riots that had occurred were deplorable and his resolution was intended to emphasise their obligation to attain unity.

The resolution was passed.

Khilafat Fund

Mr. Mahomed Ali next moved a resolution :—

(1) Entrusting their Working Committee with the work of re-organisation of the Khilafat Committees.

(2) Appealing for funds both in lump-sum and regular monthly and annual donations to carry on the struggle for freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab and of India.

(3) To organise Khilafat Volunteers under the Central Khilafat Committee which would co-operate with the Congress volunteers at length.

He said that the enemies' propaganda had been used to urge that after the Lausanne Treaty the Khilafat Committee must be closed. The Lausanne treaty gave the Turks their Swaraj but the question of Khalifat was as unsolved as ever. The Turks and the Muslims all over the world had to settle the question of Khilafat. The real Khilafat issue of freeing the Jazirat-ul-Arab from foreign control in obedience to the last will of their Prophet was before them. Thus, the need of Khilafat organisations to-day was more than ever before, and the real Khilafat issue was now before them. Mahomedans of India had first to decide whether they had any love for their Prophet's injunctions or not. If they had, their duty was clear. He admitted that Khilafat funds had not been well-managed but his wonder was that considering the strenuous struggle they were engaged in—when no one knew whether he would be inside the jail or out—his wonder was that the funds had not been more badly managed! Was this peculiar to them, he asked? During the war this Government with its vast machinery could not prevent huge frauds. Once, five thousand razors were not

at all supplied, although no less than twenty-two big officers had signed that it had been delivered. Again, a contractor was paid eight times a bill for khaki uniforms without supplying them once. If, therefore, during war such callous waste and mis-management had occurred even under the Government, what wonder was there that during the Khilafat struggle when workers were changing almost hourly such mismanagement had occurred? Some had said, why was the Khilafat fund kept with Seth Chhotani and why not in a Bank? Why should Seth Chottani have used it for his purpose? He must say that Seth Chhotani was one of the finest men who subscribed to the Khilafat fund. They did not put the fund in a Bank because they might have been deprived of it, and what was there to prevent a Bank to close just as the Alliance Bank went into liquidation? He further pointed out that Banks also use for other purposes money deposited with them. They however hoped to realise from Seth Chotani or from his mills the money he owed to the committee. But even if all the sixteen lakhs were lost, would they refuse to give any more money for freeing their Holy Places? Supposing he had sent two hundred rupees towards the doctor's bill because of the illness of his daughter, and if that money was lost by the messenger carrying it to her, he would send the money again if he had love for his daughter. That was what they had to keep in view. If they loved their Prophet they must give funds for that purpose. He was sure that better management would be achieved in future. They must also make up their mind that if they wanted the Khilafat struggle to be brought to a successful issue, they must have workers and pay them living wages out of the Khilafat funds and must look after their families when they went to jails. As for himself and his brother, they had been called robbers by the 'Times of India.' The Britishers came as traders to India and if he was a robber, he was following the footsteps of his King's Government, but he wanted to point out that his family was being maintained by a lover of Khilafat. Their Khaddar clothes did not cost much and their home, built ages ago by their grandfather, was falling into decay while others with them had built big bungalows. What were he and his brother then doing with money? Were they digging it underground? He had love for his Prophet and had given himself to God's cause. If they did not trust him, they could appoint another man, but if they had love for the cause and wanted workers, they must give bare living to those who led and participated in the campaign of sacrifice.

As a result of this speech money was subscribed liberally to the Khilafat fund.

Dr. Kitchlew.

Dr. Kitchlew said that the Akalis were fighting for the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha, because one of their Gurus had told an ancestor of the Maharaja that the Maharaja's home was also the

Guru's home. To fulfil that pledge of the Guru, the Akalis were standing to every man to restore the Maharaja to his Gaddi. Must not the Muhammadans do the same to carry out the last will of no less an authority than their Prophet? He pointed out that the Arya Samaj was keeping paid workers to propagate its mission. Similarly the Khilafat workers should be appointed.

The resolution was then adopted.

Fourth Day's Sitting

COCANADA—1ST JANUARY 1924

The Khilafat Conference concluded its session on January 1st late in the night. Some of the most important resolutions of this session were passed on this day. The following are important resolutions:

Indian National Pact

This meeting of the Khilafat Conference accepts the following fundamental principles of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact:—

- (1) Representation on the basis of population.
- (2) Protection of the rights of minorities.
- (3) Toleration between the different communities of India, and
- (4) Full religious and communal freedom.

It is resolved that the Khilafat Committees all over India and other Islamic institutions should give their full consideration to both the Pacts and should forward their suggestions on the details of the Indian National Pact through the Provincial Khilafat Committees to the undermentioned Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose, and which will submit their report to the Central Khilafat Committee by the 31st March, 1924—(1) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (2) Maulana Abul Sadir Sahib, (3) T. A. K. Sherwani, and (4) Shaib Qureshi (Convener).

Freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab

This Conference reiterates its former decisions and lays down in the clearest terms the demands of the Indian Mussalmans regarding Arabia and the Arabs. It declares on behalf of the Mussalmans of India that they do not for a moment desire the people of Jazirat-ul-Arab to be under any foreign Government even if it be that of a Muslim Power. The freedom of the Arabs, their advancement and national honour is much dearer to the Mussalmans of India than of other Islamic countries. The purpose of the present struggle is

therefore to make the Arabs free and safe from foreign control and domination, and that while maintaining their internal freedom the Arabs should keep themselves bound up with the Central Islamic Khilafat according to the National and religious tenets of Islam. It is however essential that Harmain-i-Sharifain should be under the direct control of Khilafat-ul-Muslimin for, according to Islamic Shariat, the control and management of pilgrimage is the sole right of Khalifa-ul-Muslimin alone.

Swaraj—an Islamic Duty

This meeting re-affirms its previous demands and declares on behalf of Mussalmans that the attainment of free and national government is not only a political and national but a foremost Islamic duty. This Conference reminds the Mussalmans of India that to suffer in the path of courage and freedom is their Islamic inheritance. It is therefore the duty of Mussalmans that in the struggle for Swarajya they should not only work shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen and brethren but try to make an example in being ahead of them and remain firm in their untiring zeal and energy.

Muslim National Education

Another resolution called upon Indian Mussalmans to give their immediate and serious attention to all national educational institutions generally and particularly the National Muslim University of Aligarh. If the Mussalmans of India did not give their full and generous help, both moral and monetary, then not only would the existence of the present national institution be imperilled but also the aim of national education would be jeopardised for a long time.

FIFTH SESSION OF

The Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference

COCANADA—29TH DECEMBER 1923

The fifth session of the Jamait-ul-Ulema opened at 9 p.m. on the 29th Dec. The meeting continued till 1-30 a.m. Maulvi Mohamed Umar Karnauli, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In supporting the motion of election of Maulvi Syed Hussain Ahmad as President, Maulvi Badaun declared that the Jamait-ul-Ulema was a most competent body to speak on behalf of Muslims and to lead them. He declared that when Sir Syed Ahmed started the Aligarh College the Ulemas opposed him because they believed that the College would do no good but much harm. The justification of the Ulemas' views who at the time were considered as reactionaries was when the very students (the Ali Brothers) who had loved that institution most took up their cudgels to break it. He declared it to be the religious duty of the Muslims to side with other communities to win freedom.

The Presidential Address

Maulvi Syed Hussain Ahmad who was one of the five who were tried at Karachi along with the Ali Brothers over the Ulemas' Fatwa delivered a lengthy presidential address in Urdu. He first dwelt on the relation between Islam and Europe and England, and narrated how the European countries had, whenever and wherever possible, been attacking Islam depriving the Muslim countries of their possessions, destroying their power and, besides all these, using their propaganda activities to prove to the world that the Muslims were uncivilised while they themselves were committing every uncivilised act and enslaving the Muslims. Among all European countries England, he alleged, was the worst enemy of Islam. At Sevres the Allied Powers had buried Islam and it was only Mustafa Kemal who had frustrated the evil designs of the enemies. He further declared that Turkey was left no alternative during the war except to join the Germans, and that another proof of British insincerity was that while they held out big promises to the Arabs and used them to crush Turkey they had now broken all those promises and enslaved them. The attitude of the British towards the Muslims in India was not better. The British, he declared, destroyed Indian trade, killed her industries and introduced a system of education injurious to India. Railways, telegraphs and other systems were introduced not to benefit India but to further strengthen their hold on India and to exploit her

more and more. Indians were employed in the Army only as soldiers although the officers' ranks were kept open to them. The President further attacked the Western civilisation which the Britishers had introduced in India with all its accompaniments of degrading moral by allowing gambling, cinematograph and theatrical performances, liquor consumption, etc. In fact, as was proved by the Karachi trial, the English Codes of Law in India were opposed to the commandments of God. The cause of all this degeneration of India and Islam was the British policy. The first and foremost duty of Muslims was to stand against the Government. The second duty in importance was to rid the holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab of foreign control. The third duty of the Muslims of India was to work for the freedom of India, both for political and religious,—religious because unless India was free, her voice of protest against injustice on other Muslim countries would not be effective and the Muslims of India, if they felt called upon to help their Muslim brethren outside India, either in form of money, men or weapons, they could not do so until India was free. He believed that as England derived its power from the rule of India, that power would wane the moment India was free and England would not be able to do any more mischief to Islam.

WINNING OF SWARAJ—A RELIGIOUS DUTY.

It was, therefore, the religious duty of the Muslims to win Swaraj or India. Moreover, as a result of exploitation of India, a number of Muslims had become very poor and were embracing other religions which they would not have done otherwise. For political considerations also Swaraj was as essential for Muslims as for any other community. Under the present tutelage they could neither improve their condition internally nor safeguard their interests outside or the interests of their countrymen abroad. Indeed, even if no other community worked for Swaraj the Mussalmans should have to work for it.

HINDU-MUSLIM ENTENTE—A RELIGIOUS NECESSITY.

He said, Hindu-Muslim unity was vital: Islam enjoined reliance only on God. Even if after the attainment of Swaraj the Hindus deserted them, they need not be afraid and should only rely on God. Moreover, as Islam required every Muslim to do his utmost to overcome his enemy, the Hindu-Muslim entente which alone could enable them to do so was religiously necessary. He fully believed that though differing in faith the communities of India could remain united on the fundamental issues. The army in India consisted of soldiers of different faiths and nationalities. When the trumpet sounded they all stood together and fought together for the common purpose but as soon as they returned from the battle-field all the soldiers separated and lived a life according to their tastes and faith. That was true in the case of the army would be true in the case

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of India. (Applause). He emphasised that India was the mother-land of the Muslims. Here they were to live and die and they must, therefore, work for Swaraj as zealously as any other community.

THE SHUDDHI MOVEMENT.

Referring to the Hindu Shuddhi Movement, he said that the manner in which that campaign had been carried on showed that its sponsors were the worst enemies of India. Carrying on of 'tabligh' (conversion) was their duty but conversion campaigns must keep in view that those are to be converted who really believed in that faith. The parties opposed to all conversions should keep certain points in view in order to avoid bitter feelings, for instance, no provocative words should be used in reference to the founders of the respective religions.

He also felt that considering the speeches and writings of its founders the Sangathan movement would prove detrimental to the cause of Indian advance. He hoped Congress leaders would keep aloof from these two movements as the Congress was a joint political body. He urged the Muhammadans to improve their community but this must not be done with the intention of dominating over the other communities.

KHILAFAT QUESTIONS.

He said that opinion regarding Khilafat in its relation to the Tur'kish republic must be postponed till all the facts were known. In fact, this would be decided by a congregation of Ulemas of Islam. He repudiated the allegation made in some interested quarters that the Ulemas' Fatwa declaring it impious and against religion to enter the Councils had been issued to support Gandhi. The Congress policy, he declared, might change but the Ulemas' Fatwa could not. Their opposition against Council-entry still stood and it had now been found out that many of those who were for entering the Councils to wreck them merely wanted to go there to work them and to use them for their gains.

Resolutions

The Jamait passed the following resolutions ;—

ANGORA AND THE KHILAFAT

One resolution regarding the position of the Khilafat declares full faith in the Angora Government, condemns propagandist activities of the enemies of Islam to create misunderstanding about the attitude of Angora, and deplores that even some Muhame-dans have allowed themselves to be used by the enemies of Islam for this purpose. The Conference asks Indian Muslims not to be disturbed because their Shariat can throw enough light on the question of the power and position of the Khilafat. The Jamait-ul-Ulema expresses its conviction that the Angora Government will call a fully representative body of Islamic Ulemas and leaders of all parts of the world to settle this vital question.

Maulana Ahmed Said, speaking on this resolution, said that Angora had only recently emerged from war and was busy settling its internal affairs. The Turks had assured them that they would ascertain Muslim opinion on the question. A republican form of Government and Khilafat were not incompatible. Koranic injunctions on the matter were quite clear and would enable a solution being reached. Mussalmans all over the world including those in India must owe allegiance to the Khalifa whose authority over Indian Muslims would be as much as over the Turks and who should thus provide a link to unite Muslims all over the world.

SUPPORT TO BENGAL PACT

The resolution on the question of Pact says that between the Indian National Pact prepared by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai and the Bengal Pact, the latter is more equitable and more productive of helpful factors for the attainment of Swaraj. The Conference deplores the hostile attitude towards the Bengal Pact as it overlooks the requirements of a united nation and mutual agreement. The conference appointed a committee to collect opinions, examine them and to report, keeping in view the principles of justice, toleration, reservation of rights and religious liberty. The Report is to be submitted by the end of February, and after its consideration by the executive Committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, is to be forwarded to the Congress Sub-Committee. The Committee will consist of Maulana Husain Ahmed, Shabbir Ahmed, Syed Suleman, Abdul Alim, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Masulla Abdul Quadir and Kafaitulla.

Speaking on the resolution Maulana Abdul Majid declared that the Pact was essential to assuage doubts and give satisfactory assurance.

about the future relations between the two communities. Zama declared that Mahomedans who were at present hesitating to join the movement for freedom would at once throw in their lot with them if a satisfactory Pact was concluded.

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

MEMORIAL TO MOPLAH MARTYRS

The Conference in another resolution condemned the atrocities committed on Moplahs and declared the train tragedy as the darkest page in British history in India. To perpetuate the memory of Moplah Martyrs the Conference decided to raise a fitting memorial and appointed a committee for the purpose.

MUSLIM CONTROL OF HOLY PLACES

The next resolution declared that as it is essential that Jazirat-ul-Arab which included Aden should be free from non-Muslim control, Indian Muslims should work for its freedom and that as Jazirat-ul-Arab is a vital point, all Eastern nations should also work to secure its freedom.

SWARAJ AND HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The Conference also adopted a resolution declaring that as Swaraj depended on unity, both Hindus and Muhamedans should work together to bring about unity. The Conference therefore condemned those activities which are likely to weaken the basis of unity and considered their promoters as enemies of the nation.

NAGPUR MUSLIMS CONGRATULATED

Another resolution passed by the Conference deplored the excesses committed on Muhamedans at Nagpur and Jhansi and congratulated Muhamedans of those places on their patience and tolerance.

SYMPATHY FOR AKALIS

The Conference also passed a resolution sympathising with the Akalis and characterising as interference with religious liberties and inherent rights the order of the Government in declaring the Gurudwara Committee as an unlawful association.

A Sikh speaker who is a member of the Gurudwara Committee thanked the Conference and assured them of the Akalis' support in their struggle.

Among other resolutions the Conference (1) condemned the shooting at Durgah in Ajmere (2) congratulated the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Hussain Ahmed and others who were tried at Karachi, (3) expressed anger at the action of Bombay Government against Moulana Hasrat Mohani and congratulated him, and (4) condemned the North Western Frontier administration in prosecuting those who took part in observing the Jazirat ul-Arab Day.

The All-India Khadi Exhibition

COCANADA—25TH DECEMBER 1923

The following is the text of the address on the opening ceremony of the All-India Khadi Exhibition at Cocanada, by Dr. P. C. Ray :—

Friends, when I received your kind invitation to take upon myself the great honour of opening this All-India Khaddar Exhibition in the heart of the Andhra country, I confess I felt that it gave me an opportunity to speak to the representatives of the provinces gathered here what I feel about Charka and Khadi, an opportunity which I cordially appreciate.

At the very start I must express my annoyance at one thing, and I am this time going to speak out, it is in the lip-homage that it has now become the fashion to pay to Khaddar; in the neglect and apathy that is again growing on apace about Charka in particular, and silent, serious, solid constructive work in general; in the drowning of the musical hum of the spinning-wheel, in the more uproarious din of the market-place and public-booth. Annoyance is not the proper word,—deep anguish creeps on my soul when I find that our former, age-long inertia and listlessness are invading us again; and that the splendid inspiration and lead that was given to the nation by our august leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is ebbing fast away and getting lost in the morass of sporadic outbursts and fussy sensations. Let me make myself clear; I have no quarrel, not in the least, with sensationalists and political dramatists. Sensation and drama have their place and no mean place in the moulding of public opinion and in the vitalisation of popular enthusiasms—but it becomes a disaster if these are allowed to engross our whole attention and tax all our energies—If there is not the solid back-ground of real, unobtrusive work done by and for the rank and file of the people, then all these dramas ultimately degenerate into farce, to the infinite chagrin of the patriot and the merriment of the enemy. These remarks are being wrung out of me by the sight that the country now presents—the paralysis of well-nigh all our constructive work—the endless wrangling about the pros and cons of Council-entry that has been our favourite occupation for the last year and a half, as if that were the only thing that mattered—and Charka and Khaddar and National Schools and untouchability and arbitration and village organisation, all relegated to the scrap-heap, or at most, verbally mentioned in mock reverence and then brushed quietly aside. What a fall from 1921! Was it for this

hair-splitting disquisition on the wonderful efficacy or otherwise of the Council-chamber as an infallible patent for obstructive Non-Co-operation, that students flocked out of the schools and colleges in their tens of thousands, that young and old, men and women, vied one another in marching to the jail as if it were a place of pilgrimage, that the demos of the country surged and pulsated and swayed as it has never before done in our recorded history. The nation in its hunger for freedom cried for something more substantial, more life-giving than these arid discussions—and fortunate was India that at this crisis of her history she was blessed with a Captain who was not pestered with catch-words, but who laid down unflinchingly the steep, narrow path that alone can lead to salvation. The Captain is not with us to-day; but shall we falter? The path of salvation, say the Upanishads, is not easy? sharp as the razor's edge, difficult of access, difficult of progress,—this is what the wise men say. But mark you, my friends—this and none other is the way.

Perhaps in the fulness of my heart I have spoken more passionately than I ought to have done—but I confess that the state of things in Bengal, so far as constructive work is concerned, is such that it has filled my heart with infinite sadness—perhaps, and I fervently hope it may be so, the state of things is more hopeful, more promising, more encouraging in other provinces, in your own Andhra for example—and perhaps the seed, the little seed that our Master-Gardener planted with so much care and solicitude and sacrifice will yet sprout forth and develop and expand into a giant tree of spanless girth.

CHARKA.

Of the various items of constructive work that lie before the nation, and on which so much emphasis were laid by Mahatma Gandhi, the most important and the most urgent for the economic prosperity of the people is the universal adoption of the Charka. What method is there which is available, to every body, even the poorest and the weakest, and which may enable every one, man and woman alike, to add substantially to his daily income? Such a method can only consist in removing the indispensable wants which everybody feels and which can be accomplished by means, within everybody's reach. And what other method is there which supplies all these desiderata excepting the homely Charka which even the frailest woman can use and even the poorest can procure or manufacture and repair for themselves, and which would double the average daily income of the Indian proletariat, or if you prefer reckoning in kind, would do away with the peasants' cloth-bill altogether and also leave some margin behind? There is absolutely none other, in the nature of things there can be none other, excepting agriculture, and agriculture does not exhaust all the energies and the time of the peasant. At the most generous calculation it occupies him for not more than eight months, in some parts

of the country considerably less, and the remainder of the year is practically spent in idleness and wasted. So much for the men-folks; as for the women-folk practically throughout the year they can devote some little time to spinning which would more than suffice to clothe the whole family for the year. Even from the argumentative point of view, this sounds convincing enough; but here I can say from personal experience during the organisation of relief-works in connection with the Khulna famine and the North Bengal floods that this is not mere theory but the barest practical truth. Had the ryot an alternative and supplementary means of livelihood to fall back upon, he would not have been at his wit's end for the failure of a single season's crop. And when we have tried to introduce spinning by the supply of Charka and of cotton, the poor peasants, men and women alike, have simply looked upon it as a God-send after observing the actual results.

That I have not exaggerated a bit will be evident from a few very simple figures. What is the average annual income of an Indian? Naoraji, Digby and Romesh Dutt have discussed the question threadbare; and Lord Curzon after having joined issue with them, came to the comfortable conclusion that the Indian, prosperous under British rule, can boast of the magnificent income of Rs. 30/- per head annually. Lord Curzon's reputation for veracity is well-known; let us therefore not doubt the correctness of this estimate. Even with this Viceregal estimate, however, the daily income works out at about an anna and a quarter, or five pice per day. Let us now see what addition to this income can be made by the adoption of the spinning-wheel. If a Charka is worked eight hours a day, then a practised spinner can earn 2 annas. If, to be more cautious in our estimate, we reduce the number of hours as well as the rate of production, even then there is not the shadow of doubt that the daily income is doubled.

I need not dilate upon this point, the figures speak for themselves. Another point should also be remembered. Spinning does not stand by itself; if it is universally adopted as a home-industry it lends a filip to and keeps many a host of other simple village industries. When an entire village takes to Charka, the weaving-loom also becomes brisk; side by side, the dyer, the carpenter also find occupation. In fact, spinning may be regarded as the key industry of village life, the only home-industry par excellence, and it goes far towards making the villages self-contained in the matter of our indispensable requirements. The spirit of enterprise, and briskness and self-reliance that such an organisation connotes would soon bring new life into our villages and would prevent them from falling into decay that is at present gradually overtaking them.

If we translate these figures from the individual to the national scale, then the effect seems staggering. Taking the population of India to be roughly thirty-two crores, the total income, according to Lord Curzon's computation, would amount to nine hundred sixty crores.

of rupees per year. Now if only one-fourth of the population would spin two hours daily, then the national annual income will be increased by ninety crores. This is on account of spinning alone without taking into consideration the increase due to weaving this yarn and also the additional income accruing to other professions, the carpenters and smiths, for supplying the accessories. And as a mere element in this stupendous whole, the annual drain abroad of sixty to seventy crores of rupees on the score of piece-goods would stop and would remain in our country to enrich and nourish the life-blood of our half-starved peasantry.

Some people may ridicule these figures and say that their staggering magnitudes themselves prove their absurdity. One can only pity them. The narrow grooves along which their ideas travel make it very difficult for them to visualise the gigantic effects of an industry that is universally adopted,—even the much-inflated and over-capitalised joint-stock companies, trusts, and combines can be nowhere near approaching them. This universal adoption is what makes such an industry potent.

THE QUESTION OF DISTRIBUTION.

The question of distribution is of very great importance. If it had been simply a question of stopping the drain of money outwards and of keeping the money somewhere in the country, then the purpose would have been equally served by big capitalistic concerns, by the creation of a number of giant electric-power mills, and so on. But for the purpose of distribution, mills and big manufacturing concerns are wholly incompetent. Mills can only reap profits, they cannot distribute them. And the problem of distribution is not a whit less urgent than the problem of production. What do we gain if the millions of our countrymen starve while the few fortunate mill-owners fatten on their unnatural gains? Only inequality in wealth will be created; the spectre of hunger and unemployment will stare us in the face in an uglier form; and a class-war, of dimensions the most appalling, will inevitably ensue, adding another most complex element to our already sufficiently complex problem. I need not be understood as saying by this that all big scale industries are to be smashed—the thing cannot be dismissed so airily—and I could not even if I would. But surely you will agree with me that the same result can be brought about by means much the less harmful, surely that would be preferable. This work of distribution is as I said, done most automatically by the adoption of the Charka. As Mahatma Gandhi once very beautifully put, "No amount of human ingenuity can manage to distribute water over the whole land as a shower of rain can. No irrigation department, no rules of precedence, no inspection, and no water-cess, everything is done with an ease and gentleness that by their very perfection evade notice. The spinning wheel, too, has got the same power of distributing work and wealth in millions of houses in the simplest way imaginable."

An easy, healthy and natural process of increasing the wealth of the country, and a smooth and automatic way of universalising the incidence of that wealth—that is what the Charka represents. And it is not, to tell the truth, a new and untried system invented by quacks for the cure of our economic distemper. The spinning wheel is not an innovation in India; it is, on the contrary, perhaps the longest standing industry, next to agriculture in India's history. Not even a century ago, the spinning-wheel was the rule, and not the exception, in every village household. It would be sufficient to give a few extracts from the statistical observations of Dr. Francis Buchanan's economic enquiries in Southern and Northern India conducted between 1798 and 1814. They will go to show how widespread this industry was throughout the country, and how many hundreds and thousands of our men, women and children worked at it—mostly in their leisure hours—each day and earned crores of rupees annually.

"In the districts of Patna and Behar with a population of 33,64,420 sou's, the number of spinners was 3,30,436. By far the greater part of them spun only a few hours in the afternoon, and upon the average estimate the whole value of the thread that each spun in a year was worth Rs. 7-2-8 giving a total annual income of Rs. 23,67,277, and by a similar calculation, the raw material at the retail price will amount to Rs. 12,86,277, having a profit of Rs. 10,81,00 for the spinners, or Rs. 3-4-0 per spinner.

"In the district of Shahabad, spinning was the chief industry. 1,59,500 women were employed in spinning and spun yarn to the value of Rs. 22,50,000 a year. Deducting the value of cotton each woman had something left to her to add to the income of the family to which she belonged. (Now-a-days these 22 lacs would at least represent five times the amount i.e., over one crore of rupees).

"In the Bhagalpur district (with a population of 20,19,000, where all castes were permitted to spin. 1,60,000 women spent a part of their time in spinning and each made an annual income of Rs. 4½ after deducting the cost of cotton. This was added to the family income.

"In the Gorakhpur district (population 13,83,495) 1,75,600 women found employment in spinning and made an annual income of Rs. 2½ per head.

"In the Dinajpore district (with a population of 300,000) cotton spinning, which was the principal manufacture, occupied the leisure-hours of all women of higher rank and of the greater part of the farmers' wives. Even the women of the Brahmans here employ themselves in this usual industry. Three rupees was the annual income each woman made by spinning in her afternoon hours.

"In the Purneah district (population 22,40,300) all castes considered spinning honourable and a very large proportion of women of the district did some spinning in their leisure hours.

"In Eastern Mysore women of all castes except Brahmans bought cotton and wool at weekly markets, spun at home, and sold the thread to weavers. Men and women thus found a profitable occupation. In Coimbatore, the wives of all the low-class cultivators were great spinners.

"The statistics of weavers show that they also were as numerous as the spinners. In the Patna city and Behar districts the total number of looms employed in the manufacture of chaddars and table-cloth was 750, and the value of the annual manufacture was Rs. 540,000, leaving a profit of Rs. 81,400 deducting the value of thread. This gave a profit of Rs. 108 for each loom worked by three persons or income of Rs 36 a year for each person. But the greater part of the cloth-weavers made coarse cloth for country use to the value of Rs. 24,38,621 after deducting the cost of thread. This gave a profit of Rs 28 for each loom.

"In Shahabad weavers worked in cotton only. 7,025 houses of weavers worked in cotton and had 7,950 looms. Each loom made an annual income of Rs 20½ a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. But as a family can not be supported for less than Rs. 48 a year, it is suspected that the income of each loom given above is understated.

"In the Bhagalpore district, some worked in silk alone. A great many near the town made Tasar fabrics of silk and cotton intermixed; 3,275 looms were so employed that the annual profit of each weaver employed in the mixed silk and cotton industry was calculated to be Rs. 46 besides what the women made.

"For the weaving of cotton cloth there were 7,279 looms. Each loom yielded a profit of Rs. 32 a year.

"In the Gorakhpore district there were 5,134 families of weavers possessing 6,174 looms, and the average income brought by each loom was Rs. 88 a year.

"In the Durgapur district 'Maldai' cloth was manufactured. It consisted of warp and cotton woof. 4000 looms were employed in this work, and it was said that each loom made Rs. 20 worth of cloth in a month. About 800 looms were employed in making larger pieces in the form of Elahis.

"In Eastern Mysore cotton weavers made cloth for home use as silk weavers produced a strong rich fabric. Workmen who made cloth with silk borders earned 6 annas a day and those who made silk cloth earned 4 annas."

ELOQUENT FIGURES.

These figures are eloquent. Crores of rupees were earned by these spinners and weavers by following this calling. And this universal adoption was the reason why India not only clothed herself but helped nations beyond the seas. And as Mahatma Gandhi very pertinently remarked.—"The decentralisation of the industry—every village, town and district having always at its

command as much supply as it needed—automatically facilitated its distribution and saved the consumer from Railway, Excise, and all sorts of tariffs and middlemen's profits of which he is a victim to-day. If we cannot return to these days, though there is no reason except our own bias and doubt why we should not, can we not at least so organise our industries as to do away without much delay with the foreign cloth with which our markets are being dumped to-day?"

The whole position has been very beautifully put in a nutshell by Mahatmaji. "Some consider that I am putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made cloth and mill-spun yarn. Now, I am making no such attempt at all. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are invariably simple. India requires nearly 13 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured calico, although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by hand-weaving and hand-spinning. India needs to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The great industry was destroyed, or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national taste, without damaging the mill-industry. If this employment were revived, it would prevent crores of rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among lakhs of poor women in their own cottages."

The beauty and simplicity of this programme, thus outlined in clear, laconic language, by Mahatma Gandhi leaves nothing to be desired. Yet objections have been urged against its adoption—objections theoretical and practical, historical and economic, and what not? It has been emphasised that the Charka is a rank economic heresy in these days of steam-driven, electricity-driven, petrol-driven machineries; that it would be nothing short of a disaster to civilisation if modern up-to-date time-saving methods were again to give place to these crude, primitive methods; that the adoption of such inefficient methods would be sheer waste of time which might have been much better utilised in other ways; that it is practically impossible, even had it been desirable, for the Charka to live in competition with mill; that not merely in India but in every other part of the world, the spindle and the hand-loom were in vogue before the Industrial Revolution, but that everywhere they had died a natural death as instruments of mass-production, and if we might judge from history, the result could not be other-

wise in India; that the Ganges cannot be forced back to Gangotri; and similarly in these days of rapid communication and easy transport, in these days of telegraphs and telephones, of giant ocean-liners and railway trains, airships and motorcars, the vision of snug little self-contained villages ensconced in their quiet meadows, living by themselves and for themselves is a Utopian vision—gone for ever and never to return.

The objections are formidable enough; they do not frighten me however, for I do not dispute the truth and force of most of these statements; only I feel that this solid battery of arguments is somewhat misplaced—for I do not dream of emulating the achievements of Don Quixote of famous memory. I am not out to tilt at wind-mills, I have not taken a vow of ridding the fair bosom of mother India of the unsightly spectacle of whirling dynamos and smoking chimneys—my plans are not half as ambitious. Indeed, my antecedents, I venture to think, are guarantee enough that I am not likely to suffer from a particularly virulent type of anti-machinery obsession, or anti-Western bias. I have visited Europe four times and have lived altogether eight years in England. And in a manner it has been my privilege to be instrumental in introducing in Bengal at least one aspect of Western civilisation. Close upon a century ago, the great German Chemist Liebig laid down that the index of civilisation of a country is the amount of soap it consumed and he further asserted that the industrial progress of a country was measured by the output of its Sulphuric Acid. And it so happens that I am intimately connected with several concerns—one of which manufactures soaps in large quantities and which I trust invites competition with imported stuffs—and another the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., bids fair to be the biggest producer in India of Sulphuric Acid and its accessory products. With these certificates and testimonials duly laid before you, I think you will concede that when I plead for the Charka and the hand-loom as the means of the economic salvation for our unhappy motherland, I do so with my eyes wide open and with full consciousness of what modern machinery can achieve.

I am in this respect in a much more fortunate position than Mahatmaji, whose life was rendered almost miserable by his critics for his alleged vendetta against western civilisation. But in this matter even he spoke out in no uncertain voice that whatever his individual notion of ideal social economy might be, he had declared no "jihad" against mills. He said:

"Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country-cart? Do I want to do away with machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not grieve over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do

the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure-hours to hand-spinning".

NEED OF UNIVERSAL KHADDAR-SPINNING

Really this question of competition, this economic bogey that paraded by theorists, we do not contemplate. If it comes to the commercialisation of Khaddar, of selling in the market like any other commodity and buying by strange customers, then I confess that there is very little chance of competing in point of price with machine-goods turned out in large quantities by up-to-date machinery with its labour-saving devices. What then do we mean? We mean, that spinning be taken up as an essentially domestic programme, worked in every household, out of cotton grown in the village compound, the thread woven into cloth either by the family or by the neighbouring village-weaver on the payment of a nominal remuneration, and intended for the use of the family members themselves. Just as kitchen-work is undertaken in every household, the members of the family and eatables are not intended or chased by cash-payment from any huge hotel or restaurant, in exactly similar a fashion should the clothing be provided for. The notion of sale and purchase, of price and competition, would simply not arise. At the present moment, when cotton cultivation has not yet been universally resorted to, the cotton of course will have to be purchased. But even this should not be allowed to become an aim; the aim should be to plant cotton in every household's fields, and out of the product of those plants the family's clothing should be manufactured. This should be the method of work: produce cloth, at least ordinary every-day cloth, as you do your food, for household requirement; abolish it as a marketable commodity, a subject of sale and barter. The competition bogey would then vanish into thin air.

Of course, if surplus yarn is turned out, and if cloth is woven out of that, naturally that will go to the market and people who want cloth will buy it. There will not be any dearth of buyers because there always will be people who have not got time or leisure to prepare their cloth for themselves—they may be engaged in more profitable occupations, in more arduous professions—they have no other alternative but to buy cloth. This mention of people who have no leisure to spin and who find it much more profitable to use their energies in other ways, reminds me of a very cheap rule that is sometimes flung at the exponents of Khaddar—viz., we want everybody to give up all other work, and devote his life to spinning alone. Even "The Nation" the famous London paper, which is remarkable for its breadth of outlook, once wrote—
"To go back to the spinning wheel is a retrogression. The

attempt is pitiful and even ludicrous, when young men who should be studying at the University are invited to do with their hands and feet, the works of dull toil, what a machine would do as well in one hour."

Of course the remark is quite justified if one seriously calls upon all young men to do so. But that is not what actually happened. When a new movement is initiated, the intelligentsia must take it up before it can filter down to the masses. The educated classes must set the fashion; and the masses will not look upon the work as degrading and menial, and that is why in the beginning of the movement, everybody, student and professional men alike, were asked to devote some part of their time to spinning. When we come to the question of a practical programme, however, it is easily understood that this message of Charka is essentially a message for our peasants and workers, the teeming millions of India, who have got their leisure time to devote to this work. And as I have pointed out already, this labour, which brings a profit that means a mere pittance to the favoured few, spells to them the difference between semi-starvation and a full meal. It is the salvation of the Indian proletariat.

John Stuart Mill, the great apostle of Political economy, is of opinion that to bring about a change in the existing deplorable state of affairs, a turn-over in the mentality of both the labouring classes and their employers is necessary, that both these classes must combine for general, at all events, for public and social purposes and not, as hitherto, solely for narrowly interested ones. But the capacity to do this had always existed in mankind, and is not, nor is ever likely to be, extinct. "Education, habit and the cultivation of the sentiment will make a common man dig or 'weave' for his country as readily as fight for his country."

However that is in passing. When the ideal that I have envisaged comes to pass, when the spinning-wheel is humming in every house, when it is catering for the cloth in every family, the complaint of high prices will no longer be heard—in fact the question of prices will not crop up at all. There need not then be the fear of competition with cheaply turned-out foreign piece-goods. And so long as that happy state of thing is not reached, I think it is not asking too much of our patriotic countrymen to sacrifice something in the shape of higher prices for the support of home-made goods. Ours is not a National Government, ever on the alert for the protection of nascent industries; we must substitute for state-imposed protective tariff, our own preference for our indigenous products. As we all vowed in 1905, we must buy Swadeshi goods even at a sacrifice. Of course this state of comparatively high prices must not be regarded as the normal state of things—people must not be expected to resort to sacrifice as a normal and permanent course of action—we must take steps to turn out piece-goods in quantities so ample as to bring down the price automatically—otherwise mere cries of boycott and sports

dic injections of political enthusiasms will all end in smoke, and perhaps give rise to irritation and disgust. Supply must be increased—there is no shirking that question. Those of us who think that the deficiency can be made up by the starting of a number of high-power mills are quite welcome to do so—I have not the least quarrel with them. Only as I have pointed out before they solve only that part of the problem—viz that of production; they leave the question of distribution exactly where it was. Still, let those who believe in mills start them. But such big establishments require mints of money and cannot be called into existence for the mere asking—they require time to organise. While therefore capitalists are thinking about the setting up of big mills, the country cannot wait—we must set about putting our houses in order, we must see that the cloth-problem is solved at the earliest possible moment and no other method can do that except the introduction of home-spinning. Apart from all the other considerations that have been set forth above in favour of the adoption of the Charka, from this very commonsense and practical point of view also, the urgency of the step is clear.

NOT A RANK ECONOMIC HERESY.

I think, my friends, you will now agree with me that, after all, the good old Charka is not such a rank economic heresy as we might be attempted to think at the first glance. It cannot be dismissed with a contemptuous sneer as a crude mediaeval anachronism. It is perhaps high time that economists gave up their high-crow attitude. Doctrinaire economics of the Manchester brand does not perhaps sweep round the universe with the same dash of uninterrupted success as it used to do before. And its most able exponents have been obliged to confess that it is after all not an exact science, but is very much a social science—affected and modified by the variations in the conditions of social economy in various parts of the world. The cult of efficiency and labour-saving which came to be regarded as sacrosanct in the first glamour of the industrial revolution has now come to be regarded with a bit of suspicion. Machinery, which nearly threatened to supplant man, the twentieth century has succeeded in taking down from its false pedestal, at least in theory, and relegating to its proper place as the servant and not the master of man. The tedium, the dullness, the drab uniformity, the soulless grinding, the thoughtless centralisation that machinery leads to, has now been recognised—the cry has now been openly raised—“Back to the man! Back to the villages!” The reposeful activity, the healthy variety, the fine individuality of the village worker, working in the bosom of his family amidst his quiet surroundings has now extorted its due meed of praise even from the most dry-as-dust economist. Even in industrial England so early as forty years ago, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain representing sooty Birmingham along with his henchman Jesse Collins stood up for “three acres and a cow”; and while I am writing these lines, my attention has been drawn to Premier Baldwin’s pic-

ous plea for the preservation of small cottage industries. Listen to what he says:

"Government proposes not only to keep men in rural districts, but to do something to prevent destruction of small but ancient industries throughout the country-side, the industries of the Blacksmith, the Wheel-wright, the Saddler and others."

If that is the outlook even in England advocated by the greatest thinkers and statesmen there, how infinitely more necessary is it in India where the traditions are entirely for the cottage industries? In our blind veneration for dogmas about economic progress, not overmuch applicable to our social economy, we cannot afford to risk our all.

This disintegration, this disaster that is taking place before our very eyes, did not escape the observation of the very shrewd observer, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who says in his "Awakening of India":—

"These changes in Indian economy, it is said, have to come because they are incidents in the path of progress. That is the only obiter dictum of our western blindness and arrogance. We live under the delusion that there is no emancipation except through the disintegration of social organisation. In the old days there was an organisation which made the inter-dependence of the various functions in social life real. Exchange was in the first place internal to community. There was a common wealth. The despised money-lender was a necessary social functionary. Now that is broken up. The individual cultivator has been dragged into wide relationships. He gets price for his products and he pays his obligations in coin. The economic community is broken up. Exchange of service has given place to purchase of service. Produce is taken away and the price of it remains, and this price is subject to many fluctuations in value, to which the producer under the vanishing economic conditions was not subject. The money-lender from being a social functionary has become a parasite. Individual capitalism is proving itself to be even more destructive of the best that is in India where its operations are alien to the civilisation of the country than it has proved to be in the West, where it has not been so alien. The ways of Western progress are not the ways of Eastern progress. It is simply absurd for us to look complacently on and see the ancient methods of credit upset, the ancient protections from famine swept away, and the ancient balance and economy destroyed, and rejoice that through its ruin, progress comes."

Similar ideas have been given vent to by Tolstoy and other eminent Russian writers.

".....The extreme poverty of the country was not due so much to the unequal distribution of land, nor to a false economic tendency as to the rather premature influx of European civilisation

with the Railways, producing an exaggerated centralisation in the cities, creating new luxuries and new industries at the expense of agriculture, and further introducing the huge credit system with its concomitant stock-exchange gambling."

"Their present Railways 'called into existence not by an economic but by a Political necessity,' were detrimental to agriculture, because they brought in their train the development of industries and the system of credit fatal to it. Just as the over-development of one particular organ in an animal would be a hindrance to its general development, so all these factors, 'unquestionably necessary in Europe that was ready for them', were a hindrance to the general development of the wealth of Russia, because 'it removed the important and pressing question of organising agriculture.'"

".....The question at this moment is whether we have not weakened 'The springs of life' by the extension .. of Railways?"

"Not Railways properly speaking.....but the general tendency of which Railways may be considered as the outward expression and symbol. We hurry and push and hustle for the good of humanity! 'The world is becoming too noisy, too commercial!' groans some solitary thinker. 'Undoubtedly it is, but the noise of waggons bringing bread to starving humanity is of more value than tranquillity of soul,' replies another triumphantly and passes on with an air of pride. As for me, I don't believe in these waggons bringing bread to humanity. For 'founded on moral principle' these waggons may well even in the act of carrying bread to humanity coldly exclude a considerable portion of humanity from enjoying it; that has been seen more than once...."

No truer words of warning were ever uttered. India cannot afford to ignore it if she is to live. The reign of the machine has not been much of an undiluted success even in the West where it has grown naturally. Is it likely to be a success in India where it is only being transplanted as an exotic? Look at America, the paradise of modern Croesuses. Only the other day, I was reading an account of the congested slums of New York—the city of skyscrapers—where the children of the working classes are on an average 15 lbs. underweight for being brought up in rank Mephistophelean atmosphere. With painful and fatal precision, a homeless, propertyless, shiftless debased and demoralised proletariat dogs the footsteps of an unbridled industrialism. And at the other extremity, a hide-bound plutocracy revels in heartless enjoyment of its demonic power, and everybody, prince and peasant alike carry out its mandate and further its ends. And as a result of this terrific clash, Marxism, Leninism, Bolshevism rear their portentous heads, threatening to engulf all civilisation in a stupendous cataclysm.

Dark is our outlook, if this thing goes on unchecked—if the prophetic warning of seers and thinkers to betake to a healthier course of action is unheeded. This ceaseless, restless din and bustle,

this unsightly ungainly defacement of humanity, this ugly hideous defilement of nature must cease if the world is to regain its health and normality. Grace and beauty it has none,—none of the sparkle of life's efflorescence—it is all dull and drab and sordid. If you look at it aesthetically, the thing is execrable.

This aspect of modern civilisation has also been very vividly described by Dr. R. Austin Freeman. Contrasting the gracelessness of modern civilisation with the healthy charm of hand labour, he mentions the very item of our present discourse—home-spun cloth—and he proceeds :

" If we chose to clothe ourselves in home-spun which would last half a life-time instead of in cheap machine-made garments which wear out in two or three years, one old industry might be revived. There is much to be said for making national dress reform a practical question. We ought to accustom ourselves to think of the conditions under which everything that we buy is produced. We should then take much more pleasure in a hand-made article, with some individuality in it, than in a standardised product of a great factory, which speaks nothing but soul-less, irksome labour. We are now suffering from standardised minds as well as from standardised commodities ; and they suit each other."

The learned Doctor has hit the right nail on the head—our disease is that of standardised minds. Unless and until we can shake this off,—shake off this habit of thinking to order—and begin to look about for ourselves and get into touch with the real heart of things, we cannot hope to attain salvation, economic, political or otherwise. Mental paralysis must go—we have heard a great deal about slave mentality—this is slave mentality, and this must be abjured.

We are apt to hear in season and out of season that India is an agricultural country. But it is not true ; she was an industrial as well as an agricultural country. Mr. Montgomery Martin in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1840 says, "India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural ; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation. I do not believe that India is to become the agricultural farm of England ; she is a manufacturing country, her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages and have ever been able to be competed with by any nation, wherever fair-play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca Muslins and her Kashmere Shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the world. To reduce her now to an agricultural country would be an injustice to India."

But she was reduced helplessly to the condition of having to depend entirely on agriculture. How it was brought about is a matter of common knowledge. The literature of the Victorian period of British Rule teem with facts and each one of the indictments is serious

enough to make one shudder with horror at the barbarity practised to throttle a nation's source of wealth and production. In the days of the Musalmans, India prospered. Just on the entry of the East India Company in India and about the time of the dismemberment of the Empire of the great Moghuls, India was full of wealth and life. Boltz in his "Consideration on Indian Affairs" writes, "Delhi without the aid of silver or gold mines was in her times of prosperity a receptacle into which the gold and silver of the greatest part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted its course. This great influx of wealth was owing first to the extraordinary fruitfulness of the dependent dominions, secondly to the sober industry of the inhabitants, either applied to agriculture which was greatly encouraged, or to manufacturing those commodities which have for many ages been in esteem throughout the world, and thirdly to the strong protection granted to the merchants."

Instead of giving protection to the Indian Industries, England used her utmost skill and power to crush her industries. It is painful to go through all that England deliberately did to injure India. Mr. Montgomery Martin left for India, having lived with the people for a long time. He came to love them and we read with wonder, passages expressing his love for the people and abhorrence for the injustice done to her by England :—

"We have, during the period of a quarter of a century, compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures, our woollens, duty free, our cotton at 2½ per cent, and other articles in proportion, while we have continued during that period to levy almost prohibitory duties or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50, 100, 500 and 1000 per cent upon articles, the produce from our territories. Therefore the cry that has taken place for free trade in India has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country. The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."

In course of the recital of instances of barbarous oppression practised on Indian weavers and artisans, Boltz writes: "and the vindictors of raw silk called Nagaads have been treated with such injustice, that instances have been known of cutting off of their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk." No wonder the historian Wilson would exclaim: "The foreign manufacturer employed the arms of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." This quotation is from Wilson who wrote in 1813.

The quotation is old history, but the policy of making England thrive at the expense of Indian industries still continues unabated.

Dutt writes as late as 1901 that "the bread of Indian artisan manufacturer is still leavened with a sense of injustice and statesmen has yet seriously endeavoured to protect, foster and revive their old and ruined industries. Lancashire would not permit any such endeavour, if it was made."

HELP TO USHER IN NEW ERA.

I would now ask the educated men of India to consider if they would still stoop to be clothed at the hands of the same Lancashire in whose interest our country has been so far degraded and rendered destitute. Would not the fine pieces of foreign cotton goods hang heavily on our body? I utter not these in hatred to Lancashire but out of love to the millions who would get a morsel of food if you, educated men, would cease to be clothed by foreigners for your example will filter down and help to usher in a new era in our industrial, economic, and also assuredly, in our political life.

I am afraid, my friends, I have tired out your patience by this long and somewhat discursive homily—I beg to be excused—it is so difficult to stop when anything touches the heart so nearly, and so many issues are raised. Really much of what has been said ought to be unnecessary, for I flatter myself that I am arguing to the convinced—and convinced by one far greater than myself, not merely by words but by the force of his living example. That frail figure, loin-clothed in Khaddar, eloquent in its very silence, roused India as by electric thrill, from one end to the other, and moved her to spare no pains in realising the ideal her great leader had placed before her. I can only add my feeble voice to that soul stirring appeal which ought not to stand in need of any such addition.

As I conclude, my eyes are turned to the Yerravada gaol—inside the iron-bars of which lies engaged the mortal frame of the patriot saint of modern India, the purest and noblest soul that ever drew breath, he who thought and lived the gospel of India's salvation. Though to our infinite sorrow and shame his mortal frame still lies there, we know his spirit is ever with us ever ready to rouse us and inspire us whenever we are lapsing into inertia. May that spirit and that shining example ever lead us on in our quest for freedom! May we ever be worthy of our great Exemplar!

MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAY!

ALL-INDIA VOLUNTEERS' CONFERENCE

COCANADA—25TH DECEMBER 1923

The All-India Volunteers' Conference was held at Cocanada on the 25th Dec. 1923, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President. Volunteer delegates from the different Provinces were present in large numbers, and almost all the leading Congressmen attended and took a large part in the proceedings. Sh. K. Nagaswara Rao Pantulu, Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered the welcome address in Hindi of which the following is a translation :—

Chairman's Address

Brothers, Kshatras Seva Mandai,—I have great pleasure in welcoming you, members of the Kshatras Seva Mandai, to this ancient and historic land. Though the port of Cocanada is a citadel of British Commercialism, the Andhra Desa abounds in ancient traditions, the common heritage of Aryan culture. I wish, the honour of welcoming you, the architects of new India had fallen on worthier shoulders which could have borne responsibilities along with honour. But your welcome to this Gandhinagar is a welcome to new life and great responsibilities. These simple and peaceful structures convey to Satyagrahis Mahatma's ideals of service and suffering.

Brothers, you are living in critical times. Life-currents are moving with a great velocity. Social, religious, political and spiritual upheaval is re-shaping the world. New ideals and new life-values are being created. Bolshevism, Communism, Socialism, Commercialism, Fascism and Militarism are only a few symptoms of the wasting disease which is ruining human nature.

While the Gods above are engaged in re-shaping the present order of things, the Gods below are engaged in making frantic efforts to uphold the old order of things. The tremendous sacrifices made during the world-wide War, and its consequent suffering have not altered the human heart. Social, intellectual, political and religious domination has not loosened its grip. European nations are still pursuing their old game. Though the white nations' body politic is tottering at its source, their egotism for domination still continues to cause untold misery to millions of people. Those who are unable to set their own house in order cannot hope to set their's house in order. Self-interest and arrogance dominate their thoughts, and their actions betray callousness to human rights.

and sufferings. The blind worship of power and mammon has brought into operation new spirit and new modes of action to save the world from impending agony. The West is suffering from egotism and the East is suffering from dejection.

The worship of brute force and material achievements has placed the world under Asura power. The satanic sway which, as stated in Bhagawad Geeta, delights in self-glorification, has upset the true Dharma. 'Whenever true Dharma fails and false Dharma prevails, the latent Spirit rises up and restores true Dharma.'

Our revered patriot Lokamanya Tilak gave this to his country as message.

Mahatma Gandhi, our guide, friend, leader, and philosopher has put into practice Lokamanya's message to lead the nation to the promised land. Mahatmaji has shown us the way to freedom by the Sadhana of non-violent non-co-operation which is the right key to peace and freedom. This Conference of Volunteers is the direct outcome of this new Sadhana which has immense potentialities to save Bharatvaisha and mankind from the prevailing Asura forces. Your trials and temptations as Satyagrahis have shown you the necessity of having a disciplined Satyagraha army to free Bharatmata from her internal and external shackles in the great struggle before her.

A GRAVE SITUATION

When we contemplate the immensity of our struggle, dejection naturally sets in our hearts even as it set in the heart of Arjuna, a great and disciplined warrior, on the memorable battle-field of Kurukshetra. Arjuna after a great internal struggle followed Sri Krishna's advice and succeeded in doing his duty. We are confronted with a grave and unparalleled situation. Internal differences and external repression have paralysed even our normal activities. While our activities are checked, our desire for freedom makes us impatient in our forward march.

Our supreme National institution, the Indian National Congress, is divided by party feelings. The Bardoli constructive programme stands still. Pro-changers and No-changers are still engaged in wordy warfare. Differences between Hindus and Mussomedans, Bahmins and non-Brahmins, are growing wider. Floods, famine, plague and pestilence claim thousands of victims every year. Drunkenness is on the increase. Untouchability remains a bar to social freedom. The gloomy internal condition is sufficient to scare away even a brave heart. The external repression carries away the little hope that is left even in the brave hearts. Thousands of Congress workers are shut up in prisons under one pretext or another by unlawful laws. Mahatma Gandhi, the Prince of Peace, is inhumanly punished for his pure love of peace and Satyagraha. Reforms, dyarchy, and Ministerships have strengthened the hands of the Bureaucracy. Repression is wider and more in-

tensive under reforms than before. The heaven-born service is raising its standard of revolt against the Government of India as its recent evidence before the Royal Commission testifies. Mr. Lloyd George frankly stated that the "steel frame" which dwarfs Indian freedom will continue to rule undisturbed for years to come. Under these depressing circumstances, the struggle for Swarajya is bound to be arduous and prolonged. To engage ourselves and win victory in this internal and external struggle, the time has come for organising our National resources.

NEED FOR VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION.

Mahatmaji has said that Swarajya is to be won by our own efforts. Swarajya can not drop before us as a gift either from the Gods or from the bureaucracy, but Swarajya can be easily won when people earnestly devote their lives to the service of Bharatmata. Mahatmaji uplifted politics from the sordid selfish plane to a truthful and spiritual one. The time for "three days glorification" is over and the time for service and sacrifice has begun. This new ordeal, though it scared away many a Congressman from its ranks, has created an army of Satyagrahis who have consecrated their lives for the services of the motherland. Past experience has shown that out of the heterogeneous mass of Congressmen, it is neither desirable nor possible to create a homogenous army of Satyagrahi soldiers, owing to varying ages and temperaments. The time has come for creating active and efficient voluntary organisations throughout the country.

Mahatmaji placed great hopes in volunteers and expected great things from them. He enjoined on them rigid self-discipline and the observance of non-violence to make the movement useful to the country. Some Congressmen insisted from the beginning on the relaxation of discipline enjoined on the volunteers, but Mahatmaji instinctively felt the danger and resisted the temptation. Events at Bombay, Madras, and Chauri-Chaura proved the Mahatma's wisdom. Impatient and superficial critics may blame Mahatmaji for weakness but Satyagrahis who understand his noble purpose cannot attribute his abandonment of Civil Disobedience programme to his weakness. Mahatmaji had seen clearly the danger ahead in those events and stopped the campaign. It is regrettable that veteran leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai should fail to see Mahatmaji's greatness when he abandoned the Satyagraha campaign. No good will result from pursuing this subject further. Our present purpose is to prepare the country to attain Swarajya by all peaceful and legitimate means.

LESSON OF CHAURI-CHAURA AND NAGPUR.

Events at Chauri-Chaura exposed the defects in volunteer organisations and Volunteers. The Nagpur flag-fight and the Akali success brought out the merits of the volunteer organisations and Volunteers. Even in successful campaigns, as Mr. Bradburn

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Secretary to this Conference, points out, better discipline is required from the Volunteers on the true basis of Non-Violence and sacrifice.

UNIQUE IDEALS OF INDIAN VOLUNTEERS

The Volunteer movement is an offshoot of western Militarism. In free countries where conscription is disliked, voluntary system of service is adopted. In dependent countries like India, even this voluntary training is not possible, as the foreign power has no trust in the people. From the beginning of the Indian National Congress, volunteers have been rendering invaluable services to the National cause. With the adoption of self-reliance and Non-violent Non-co-operation as the guiding policy of the Congress, the methods and ideals of voluntary organisations have undergone complete change. When the wave of Non-co-operation was at its height, thousands of Congress and Khilafat Volunteers joined the movement and rendered valuable services to the country. But the basic principle of Satyagraha which is the foundation for Non-violent Non-co-operation has not been grasped by the volunteers. Truth, Non-violence and sacrifice require courage and patience to be practised. In the conflict between Divine and Asura forces, though ultimately, victory is bound to be on the side of Divine forces, Asura forces are still swaying the world. In this conflict of supremacy between brute force and soul-force, between enjoyment and suffering, between Western and Eastern 'Samskar' (cultures), Bharata-putras are destined to play a leading part.

MAHATMAJI'S EXAMPLE

The divine example of Mahatmaji's self-sacrifice has triumphed over brute-force. While Mahatmaji's body is locked up within the walls of Yerawada Jail, his Atma pervades throughout the world. Mahatmaji has vindicated humanity at the bar of the world. Mahatmaji stands to-day as the foremost man in the world. His spirit proclaims its eternal triumph. Lokamanya's message is reflected in Mahatmaji's personal example. But worse times and more severe trials are yet to come. Many a Vajrapai and Akali have to offer their tribute of suffering and sacrifice of life to win victory in the great struggle. Mahatmaji has demonstrated to the world by his suffering the way to success. Many Satyagrahis in this hall have undertaken this pilgrimage with grim determination to follow Mahatmaji's example, to do their duty through suffering and sacrifice. Most of you have suffered for the cause of Non-co-operation. The movement has changed its character. The material basis of the movement is changed into spiritual basis. The material ideals of self-assertion and self-protection are turned into self-effacement and self-surrender. Thousands offered themselves as victims at the altar of truth and right. Your experience and the country's supreme need emphasise the imperative duty of placing the National Volunteer organisation on truly national and permanent foundations.

Mahatmaji has shown the world the way to divine inheritance which is real Swarajya. Bharata Samskara is favourable to guide us to that goal through Satyagraha. The ancient Samskara which has given birth to Buddha, Dadhichi, Arjuna, and Bheeshma, has immense potentialities to create thousands of Satvagrahis in this ancient Spiritual land. Self-control, self-denial and self-sacrifice are true paths to salvation. These divine virtues have to be developed by regular training and organisation. You are privileged to live in eventful times and work under the spiritual inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi to work out our destiny. Youth is the spring-time of life, full of promise, hope, idealism, and enthusiasm for action. The sacred and difficult duty of creating New India rests with you, the flowers of Bharatamata. In the words of Sree Krishna, you are the inheritors of the Divine Kingdom. Mahatma Gandhi has shown the path to Divine Kingdom through suffering and sacrifice. Awake, arise, organise and act to fulfil the call of the Motherland and follow the footsteps of Mahatmaji!

Under the wise and enthusiastic guidance of our devoted patriot, Sri Sri Pandit Jawaharlal Nehruji, may the Divine Powers crown the proceedings of this Conference with harmony and success!

The Presidential Address

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then delivered his address in Hindi of which the following is a translation.

A PRIVATE TO THE FRONT

I thank you for the honour you have done me and the confidence you have reposed in me in choosing me as the President of this Conference. You have embarked on a great venture full of the promise of high endeavour and noble achievement and it was fitting that you chose a Captain wise in leadership and capable of guiding you aright. But sometimes it happens that the captain is otherwise engaged and circumstances force an ordinary soldier to the front and in my case, events and circumstances not unknown to you, have put on humble worker in this presidential chair. I bow to your decision. But I come to you as a mere soldier and not as an officer. Perhaps many of you are not aware that years ago I was a member of the Officer's Training Corps in my school in England. But I ended my career in the territorial army of England as a private and was not even awarded any badge or other sign of distinction during my two years' service in it. As a private, then, I come to you and seek your indulgence.

"We meet here to-day to consider how we can make ourselves more fit to serve our country and hasten the day of her liberation. We meet as soldiers of freedom and must be men of action rather than of words. I shall endeavour to set an example in this respect by being as brief and business-like as possible in the address.

The problem before us is to organise a body of disciplined volunteers who will serve their country and be prepared to sacrifice themselves at the altar of freedom. Our thoughts naturally go to the volunteer organisations of the other countries and we seek guidance from them. Specially do I think of the Irish volunteers and the part they took in the struggle for Irish freedom. We should profit by the experience of others but we must not forget that there is really not much in common between us and many of the western volunteer organisations. That analogy of the Irish volunteers is a dangerous one and we can profit more by avoiding their methods and mistakes than by copying them. The very foundation of our movement for freedom is non-violence and any volunteer organisation that is to render effective service to this movement must have non-violence for its basic principle.

THE WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH OF THE ORGANISATION

We have had volunteers for many years, volunteers in the Congress, volunteers for social work. They worked for a while and then returned to their business. Then came non-co-operation and more permanent groups of Congress and Khilafat volunteers were formed. Their numbers and power grew till Government, anxious to check their growth, applied the Criminal Law Amendment Act and declared them unlawful associations. The wonderful response of the people to this challenge of Government must be fresh in every one's memory. Large numbers joined the volunteers and braved Government action and many thousands went to jail. Eventually for very weariness Government stopped arresting them. But when the official opposition was lessened, the inner weakness of our volunteer organisations became apparent and they dwindled away, also for weariness. In 1923 another organised attempt was made to enlist volunteers and the triumph of Nagpur redeemed greatly the want of success in many parts of the country. This, in brief, is the story of our volunteers and even these few lines will have made clear to us our strength and our weakness.

OUR PAST RECORD

Volunteers can be of many kinds, but I take it that in this Conference we mean by a volunteer a person who has the qualities of a soldier. By the very nature of our struggle he must be non-violent. But in all other respects he must resemble the good soldier. He must be prepared to face danger courageously and to sacrifice himself if necessary. He must be fit and disciplined and must obey his officers' commands. We

have seen in the past how thousands of our young men bravely faced suffering and few of us can doubt that thousands would spring up again when the call comes. We have also seen how utterly lacking in discipline our volunteers were and how our movement suffered because of this want of discipline. The fault was not theirs. We paid little heed to discipline or drill and spent our time and energy in exhortations and appeals. We forgot that courage without discipline is of little avail and a body, however brave, is powerless before a trained army. Our object was not to have a body of trained volunteers. We merely wanted to create an atmosphere of sacrifice and to infuse courage into many of our nerveless brothers. We succeeded wonderfully in our endeavour, but this success would have been even greater and more lasting if our people had been disciplined.

NEED FOR TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

We have thus made no proper effort so far to have real volunteers and the first question for us to determine is whether we require trained and disciplined men who will act like soldiers or whether we want brave but untrained men to face suffering and go to jail. Are we aiming at sending people to jail to vindicate our National honour as we did in Nagpur in 1921, or are we desirous of training our people first and afterwards, whenever occasion arises, to offer them for jail or any other service? The difference between these two methods is material, although perhaps it may not appear so. I would strongly recommend that we should choose the latter course and make every effort to have a trained volunteer corps. Without this training our strength will be wasted and our courage will bear little fruit. Above everything we must concentrate on his training and having given this training, we shall have fitter men and women for constructive work and civil disobedience. If his view commends itself to this Conference and training and discipline are to be made our first objective then it is desirable that we should offer this training to as large a number of people as possible, for the training will make them better citizens and more capable servants of the Motherland. I would put a few obstructions in their way as possible. Out of their number I would suggest that volunteers be chosen for constructive work and civil disobedience and they must take the Congress volunteer pledge before they undertake any responsible work.

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL.

The second important question which this Conference will have to consider is what relation the volunteer organisation should bear to the Congress. I think that there is little doubt that the volunteers must be independent of the Congress. It would be difficult for the movement to succeed without the fullest support from Congress-men and even if it happened to prosper there would always be danger of

friction and conflict. The volunteer organisation should therefore be subordinate to the Congress and the All-India Congress Committee or Working Committee should lay down the policy and guide the movement. It is also clear to me that it will be difficult to maintain discipline amongst the volunteers if District and Town Congress Committees are continually interfering with the organisation. I would suggest that the Provincial Congress Committees should guide and control the Volunteer Organisation in their province, but in that no subordinate committee should be empowered to interfere. I feel that in any event the work of organising volunteers must of necessity be largely provincial, and it is fitting that the P. C. Cs should have a say in it. At the same time I am clear that an effective All-India co-ordination will be necessary if once a strong and efficient volunteer organisation is to be created in India. For this purpose an All-India Board for Volunteers should be appointed. The Board will act in accordance with the directions given by the Working Committee of the Congress. This arrangement will keep the Volunteer organisation under the Congress and will at the same time avoid undue interference with their internal management or discipline. As the Board and the Provincial Congress Committee are both subordinate to the A. I. C. C., there is no reason why there should be any friction between the two. The volunteers will of course work in towns and districts in co-operation with the town and district committees.

I have had my brief say. The whole lesson of the past three years teaches us that discipline is essential for us and without it we can hardly hope to succeed. Most of our weaknesses can be traced to our lack of discipline. I feel sure that if this Conference results in an organised attempt to train or discipline our people it will do the greatest service to the cause of freedom. Our Akali brethren are to-day giving us an example of an effective action on non-violent lines. They are brave and self-sacrificing. Their real strength is their discipline. Let us profit by this example for a year and more. Many of us have engaged ourselves in debate and argument to the detriment of much of other work. We who aspire to be soldiers should have little to do with wordy warfare and as members of this Conference or as Volunteers should concentrate on the issues before us and leave high matters of policy to other times and halls. Let this be a brotherhood of service which all who love India and desire to see her free can join. Our beloved leader is in jail and the glorious spirit he infused in us has dwindled and grown less. Our eyes wander from the goal, and our feet falter, but the dark days have passed and work again beckons us. Some of the omens may still appear unpropitious. But let us remember that the noble Hector, King Priam's son, as he sallied out on the plains of Troy to fight the mighty Achilles, being urged by his brother to bow to unfavourable omens and retreat, replied: "One Omen is best to fight for our country".

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed :—

LOYALTY TO MAHATMA GANDHI

"The Volunteers assembled in this Conference pay their loyal homage to their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and declare their firm determination to follow the programme of non-violent non-co-operation as laid down by him".

SJ. H. N. SINGH CONGRATULATED

"This first All-India Volunteers Conference pays its due respect to the great satyagrahi Sjt. Hridaya Narayan Singh who sacrificed his life in Nagpur jail in vindication of the honour of the National flag."

Srimati Sarojini Devi next moved :—

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

"This Conference feels the supreme necessity of training and disciplining the volunteers in order to enable them to offer civil disobedience at any time and to help in the carrying out of the constructive programme, and this Conference requests the Congress to recognise the All-India Volunteers Organisation and help it in its work with such financial help it can render to it."

In doing so, she emphasised in Urdu at great length the immediate necessity for this organisation. Their object was to take an active part in civil disobedience and not to ferment any violence. A spirit of strict discipline would be created among them and the organisation would be under the aegis of the Congress. The volunteers should always be prepared to sacrifice their lives in the service of their country, their only weapon being non-violent non-co-operation. The volunteers would carry out all the mandates of the Congress.

Sjt. Harisarvottama Kar seconding the resolution in Telugu said that the Volunteers were to be sufficiently trained for national work. They desired to help the Congress and were in no way a rival organisation to it. They therefore requested recognition at the hands of the Congress.

The Resolution was further supported by Pandit Mohanlal Jhathurvedi, Dr. Kitchlew and Devi Naoroji, the granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, and carried.

A Provisional Board was then formed and empowered to confer with the Congress and discuss their draft scheme with them.

I remember what wealth of learning was bestowed on it. In the Calcutta Congress speaker after speaker spoke on the various constitutions of the West.

As I shall say always, what India wants is not the constitution of any nation or any country. India wants the right of building up her own constitution, which in time will be known and admired and worshipped. That is the Swaraj. A word came from America, everybody spoke of "self-determination." We are charmed by the phrase. May I point out to you that the western conception of self-determination of nations is altogether a false conception? It may be true to their culture. It is not the self determination of the Indian. How was it applied in the West? They have called meetings and by the show of hands is self-determination arrived at.

It is not for the show of force but it is different altogether, and that is, that everything be determined by your genius, by your own temperament, and your SADHANA. Not that every human being should meet on one day and proclaim the system of Government which they want. It must evolve out of their own consciousness which is theirs to represent to the whole world. That is self-determination and that is Swaraj.

Violence Gives Birth to Autocracy

You find that Swaraj is possible with non-violence. Violence is not desired to bring Swaraj. What does it matter whether one autocrat or two autocrats rule? Your House of Commons to-day is a house of autocrats. The French legislature is a Legislature of autocrats. If the labourers strike, the soldiers shoot them down. This has been followed in England. Is this Swaraj?

The ideal of centralization is a military ideal. The ideal of discipline is a military discipline. What the world wants is not the shutting of militarism from the soldiers, not the discipline where orders are to be followed, but the discipline which is born in you. That is the only discipline upon which civilization can stand. Following orders—how long can it go? It can go on till you become weary and revolution breaks up. What follows is a thirst for blood.

"I warn you", Deshbandhu continued, "that following of these foreign ideals is to create violence. Let Swaraj be established on that foundation which can only be done in the villages. Ask everyone to cater for themselves, to live on themselves. Do not kill them. I want the living out of myself. I hate in central organisation. We have not much of this centralization. I always have been a rebel against that constitution. I want to do good to my province. I will not be crushed by the central organisation even of the National Congress."

The Self Ideal of Nationalism

The self-ideal of nationalism is a German development, something antagonistic to the English development. God manifests himself in

a variety of forms. We are not the same, yet we are the same. Much has come out and expressed itself in two different forms. Temperaments are different; how can I attain my salvation if I follow your temperament?—that is the meaning of the Geeta: “do not follow the religion of another”

Taken as individuals you are different to me, I am different to you. If you represent yourself and not misrepresent me, and if I represent myself, we develop that one power of humanity. Man is eternal, the nation is eternal, humanity is eternal, and eternal is God because all these different forms of diversity are the manifestation of God. If your politics are based upon this fundamental truth then, that politics is not Indian which will turn out the British from the country. I shall be no party to it. Turn out the British because they are hindering our life. In the whole of our heart let us be Indians. We will not be ruled by foreign ideals and foreign liberties. We wish to stand, we wish to grow, in our own lives. In the garden you find flowers of many kinds. The flowers are the same and not the same. You can not improve the rose by trying to make it a lily. Why can't you? because they are diverse. Yet the whole of them put together is the beauty of the garden. Live for yourself, live for the society, for the nation, and the nation for humanity. Those who want to represent themselves have no clash of principles, but when they misrepresent there is clash. The nation that does not represent itself insults God and humanity. Let us live together if it says, ‘brother, we have got a right to live as you. Let us not appropriate what is yours.’ Men may represent themselves and men may grow to their full stature. Non-co-operation is this. I claim for this doctrine.

Need of Non-Co-Operation

It is impossible to live without N. C. O. An individual cannot grow without N. C. O. and cannot co-operate with humanity unless in the first place he gets rid of what is violent and things which drag him down, which prevent him from growing. I have read in books that the very first thing to utter MANTRAS is to take your mind away from what is against you from the religious point of view. An individual cannot develop without this. Apply this idea to the nation. A nation must first non-co-operate with all the forces which are weighing her down, because unless the nation grows, the nation does not contribute to and co-operate with humanity at large. If you want to co-operate with the British Government, we can only do so by surrendering ourselves and by denying to ourselves what God has given us. The ideal of co-operation needs true things, not co-operation which means surrender. The poet of Bengal described goats which were sacrificed as to co-operate with the master. British Government and we are co-operating just as the goats with the master by surrendering ourselves. I am speaking of higher co operation. Our contribution to humanity is not possible

unless you non-co-operate. That is the spiritual doctrine, that is the political doctrine. Spirituality demands that every nation must live, must fulfil its truth. This system of Government must be removed. Self-purification demands that you should remove your hand from this machinery as you, Hindus and Muhammadans of India, are now doing. To purify yourself you must take your hands off from the machinery. You have to suffer. Without suffering no nation grows, no individual grows. No nation on the surface of the earth can ever grow to its full height unless it is willing to non-co-operate. The soul of India cries out for its representation. The soul of India lies bleeding unless she represents herself—she cannot stand before the world and say "I am one." Let the Indian nation live its life. The difference of opinion between myself and other brothers is this. The Councils, the law courts, and the educational institutions arrest my growth. I claim to be entitled to break them asunder, to demolish them, to destroy them—this is a price of constructive work. I claim by the Divine right to break the chains to destroy these things of evil. I repeat, the greatest piece of constructive work that lies before India is the destruction of the bureaucracy. The ideal requires and demands that not one student should remain in the Government institutions to-day. Those that remain shall admit that they are there because of their weakness. Let all the students take part in the glory of the battle.

This ideal of non-co-operation calls upon students to leave Government Educational Institutions. I know of students in Bengal who have been turned out of their houses by their parents because they left Government schools and colleges. Shame to those parents who have turned out their children and shame on myself that I could not prevent it although I saw it with my own eyes (here Mr. Das broke in tears). Continuing Mr. Das said "if you have not got the courage to non-co-operate, assist those who have non-co-operated. If you take two morsels of food give one to your brother. You have got many opportunities of service during the vacation months. You can go to villages and educate the people, teach them in the management of villages, and above all teach them how to spin and weave in this silent way. You can help India to achieve

The Moderates' Meeting

The Moderate Party after sustaining a heavy defeat at the last elections in November throughout India had fallen into a deep depression from which it seemed as if it could hardly rise. The fall of Sir Surendranath in the Calcutta polls, coming immediately after the disastrous defeat of Mr. S. R. Das by the Swarajists, sounded, as many believed, the death-knell of the Indian Moderates. The great stalwarts of the Party were one by one unseated. In Bombay the Education Minister, Dr. R. P. Ranjpye was defeated; Sir Chimanlal Setalval and Mr. Kamat shared the same fate; so in the J. P. Mr. Chintamani. The defeat of Mr. Hriday N. Kunzru in the J. P., though backed by the great name of Pt. Malaviya, was a hopeless portent for the Moderates. In Madras, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer was defeated and Sir Sivaswamy Iyer entered the Assembly through the back-door of nomination. Everywhere the Swarajists were the heroes of the hour, and won seat after seat with incredible rapidity as against men of the Moderate party.

Before all this the Moderates following in the wake of their leaders fell into utter disorganisation. This was reflected in a large measure in their annual meeting at Poona held in the X'mas week. Not more than 430 delegates from all over India attended, the lack of animation, except when the subjects committee considered the boycott of the Empire Exhibition, extended even to the juvenile part of the audience, among whom the khadi jacket and the Gandhi cap were by no means rare. It was symptomatic of the extremely limited appeal that the Liberal Party and its work make to that overpoweringly large section of the population whose characteristics are ardent spirits, love of humour and abounding energy. The attendance from other provinces than Bombay was not large, the Punjab, Behar and Bengal being totally unrepresented. Not a word of explanation was heard of this abstention on the part of these provinces, one of which boasts of having been the birthplace of moderation in politics. Madras did not send its weightiest representatives, while the absence of the Bombay stalwarts, in spite of the nearness of Poona, cannot be explained on any ground except the existence of some deep-rooted cause of dis-union. It has been stated that these kept aloof even from the combined demonstration of all political parties which took place a few months ago in Bombay in connection with the Kenya decisions.

The whole attention of the Liberal Federation was concentrated on the Kenya question, as the two great personalities, Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who dominated it had made the Kenya Indians' problem their very own. While the Indian National

Congress at Cocanada was deliberating on the consolidation of the position of Indians in their own home, the Liberal Federation was engaged in discussing the position of Indians abroad, in Kenya and other Dominions and British colonies. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the President, was coming fresh from England after a strenuous fight for the Kenya Indians in the last Imperial Conference. The turn that his mission had taken in England could not but have made a lasting impression on him, for it was a humiliation which the master moderate could not swallow. Mr. Sastri's attitude can be best judged in a frank statement that he made before a public meeting at Bangalore on the eve of the Poona meeting. This was the first important political pronouncement that Mr. Sastri made immediately after his long convalescence of some three months at Bangalore. The occasion was the publication early in December last of the great Kenya Immigration Bill. This speech is reproduced below. In the Subjects Committee of the Liberal Federation Mr. Sastri took a bold stand in the matter of boycott of British goods. A resolution to this effect was moved and was opposed by the President, but was passed by a majority following a strong speech from Mr. Sastri. This seemed to threaten a split, but in deference to the susceptibilities of Sir Tej Bahadur, Mr. Sastri agreed to drop the resolution from being brought before the open meeting of the Liberal Federation.

Mr. Sastri's Bangalore Speech

The following is the speech of Mr. Sastri referred to above. After some remarks of a personal character, Mr. Sastri turned to his Dominion tour and proceeded :—

Having failed and not, as some of you said, succeeded in the mission entrusted to me, I feel like a person who has fallen from a high estate. You gave me a great commission. I went forth knowing that it was difficult, knowing too that many other stronger and braver fighters for India's cause gladly avoided it. I knew that I should fail. But I undertook the task, because I knew that my failure would not matter, that perhaps through my failure somebody after me would be enabled to build up a success that you and your children of the future might really cherish as one of India's achievements within the Empire.

KENYA LOST, EVERYTHING LOST

Don't expect me to go fully into the recent history of this Kenya affair. But you will forgive me if I make a few observations which I cannot keep back in this my first public speech, after an enforced but temporary retirement. Well, "Kenya lost, everything lost." You have been reminded of that expression of mine more than once this evening. I really feel that in this case of Kenya, a good deal is bound up of vital importance to the whole future history of this

country. It is difficult for me to speak with moderation upon a subject touching so deeply, not merely our interests, but our pride as Indian citizens. I will, however, forbear to use language that might seem to abuse the hospitality of an Indian State, but certain observations I must make on this occasion.

THE REAL INWARDNESS OF THE AFFAIR

Some one said that the history of this Kenya betrayal might be read in a public document. Believe me, friends, if you wish to know the real inwardness of this affair, do not pay any attention to that fuliginous document which they call the White Paper. It does not contain the true history at all. The actual facts at the bottom of the case will not be found in the discussions that ensued in Parliament, they will not be found in the respectable newspapers of Great Britain, they will not be found, no, not an allusion to them, in the vast flood of oratory that marked the proceedings of the last Imperial Conference. No reference has been made in these solemn papers to the fact that the British Cabinet gave this decision because the white people in Kenya threatened rebellion. I do not say that the British Cabinet got intimidated. I do not say that the custodians of the Empire shrank from a trial of strength with such a petty little place as Mombassa or Nairobi. That is not my meaning, but those who are responsible for the conduct of the Empire to-day did shrink from a struggle with their own countrymen; if they ventured to put forward a regiment, the regiment would refuse to act. That was the secret of the whole thing.

THEY WERE ANGRY WITH ME

The White Paper discusses the question as if on its merits and its previous history. No reference, however, is made to this subject. When I, caring only for truth and for India's honour, mentioned it for the first time to a public audience, they all seemed abashed. They seemed to think that I was giving utterance to something which ought to be hidden from the public gaze. They were evidently not proud of the transaction. They certainly were very angry with me. Friends and critics, newspaper oracles, Members of Parliament, those who were glad any time to welcome me in the street and shake hands with me as fellow-citizens, all thought that I had been guilty of a sin of the most grievous description, much like a sensitive daughter-in-law in a family, who having received a beating from the husband, smarted under it no doubt, but far more because the brother-in-law and sister-in-law had been looking on. The British Cabinet and the public of London were not so ashamed of their having yielded to fear and inflicted grievous wrong on India. They were far more angry because I had taken the world from my confidence.

WE OUGHT TO HAVE A DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT

And now, what are our defenders doing? The Government of India, all honour to them, stood by us to the very end of the discussion. Perfectly true, they gave us every moral support they could. But when the time for talk had gone and the time for something substantial had come, when we had to tell the British Cabinet that, if one side threatened rebellion, we should at least threaten a little trouble, when the time had come to say that, our Government necessarily shrank back—you could not expect the agents of the British Cabinet to take up that attitude. Then, let me tell you for the first time more vividly than ever, for the first time more stirring than ever, I felt that if we were to win our way in the world, we ought to have a different Government altogether. What is the state of things to-day?

THE IMMIGRATION BILL

The Government of India, in order to hearten us, say: "Now that matter is gone, let us not weep over it, because all is not lost. There is the Immigration Bill coming on. We will discuss it threadbare, attack all its provisions from A to Z. We will see what the Kenya people will do and what the British Cabinet will do." We are going certainly to have thick books filled with discussions about Clause A and Exception B and Explanation C. But I assure you that it is the case of the young lad who was bidden to hold a runaway bull but was foolish enough to let the nose rope go and then hung on for all he was worth by its tail. You know what would happen to that innocent young adventurer. Well, the people of India and the Government of India are in no better case. When the British Cabinet allowed the Kenya Government to control our immigration on one pretext or another, the case was gone. The horse had been stolen, you might shut the door, bang a hundred times after, but you could not recover it by any discussion however meticulous, however ably conducted, of the provisions of the Immigration Bill. I do not say that nobody should care about it. I do not say that the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, for instance, must not busy itself with necessary representations to the authorities of Kenya. Let them by all means do so. But the essence of the matter lay here. When they said that it was necessary to administer Kenya in the interests of the African native and that for that purpose it might be necessary to control immigration, as a theoretical proposition we had no alternative but to agree, and we might willingly and gladly agree as people long accustomed to the galling chains of subjection and anxious therefore to help anybody, even Kenya natives, to get back their rights from the white aggressors. We could well agree to that, and we did.

But the point was this, that the unhappy African native had his only friends amongst Indians, that the white settler there is a land-grabber, that he is a political tormentor whose one business is to

oppress, to keep down, to make selfish laws, to exact labour from poor people there, to use their energies for his own benefit; in other words, to use the language of one of their accredited spokesmen, having stolen the lands of the native the next thing was to steal his limbs. If immigration was to be controlled, the immigration of the white man was to be controlled, and not that of the Indian. That is an attitude that we ought to have taken and that is an attitude that we should yet take in the matter. I expressed it several times in London. I have nothing to conceal and I will say that again. But there comes the trouble. Do you expect Lord Reading to say so for you? Do you expect Lord Reading and his Government to say that if immigration has to be controlled, it has to be in the case of whites and not of Indians? Every one of them might feel so, and I believe in my heart of hearts that every one does feel so but nobody dares to say it; and yet if we are to win in this case, that is the thing, however unpleasant, to be said. There again comes a handicap in our having a Government which can only go a short way in championing our rights, which cannot speak the full truth, which cannot speak as you and I would, which cannot tell the British Cabinet, "Be impartial, be just if you dare, and tell your own people not to do wrong."

THE ELECTIONS

There is another point that is being forced upon my attention. However unwilling I was to recognise it in such vivid colours in the past, I can no longer conceal from myself that without a Government that we could make and unmake as free people, we are bound to lose in the struggle in future. It is to that great object that all our energies have now to be bent. All talk of moderate and immoderate, of extreme and mean in Indian politics, has now no meaning for me. All must unite round this banner of Dominion status, and that promptly. What do we hear from the representatives of British power in India to-day? I do not envy Lord Reading this task. I certainly do not believe that fate has been excessively kind to him in calling upon him, liberal as he is in politics, to go about the country on the eve of a general election and tell the people; "Your struggles for an immediate constitutional advance will meet with NON-POSSEMUS. Elect, therefore, people who will be content to go on on the present footing." Well, he might say so, but the country has decided otherwise. Weak and disunited, almost like a baby in her politics, India has, it seems to me, still spoken out boldly. I mean through the general elections. India has not heeded the warning, which, bidden or spontaneously, Lord Reading thought it fit continually to administer to our people.

KENYA AND ANGLO-INDIANS

Now what do the great people who have to guide us in all these matters say? I mean the great representatives of the Anglo-Indian press, the great representatives of the British press, or those

who, occupying high and responsible posts in the Indian Civil Service, continually admonish the Indian patriot on his duty, tell young and old alike without any bias or partiality that if we place the whole of the Indian finance at their disposal and, perhaps, abolish the posts of Accountant-General and Auditor-General, everything would go well with India. They tell us: "What are you doing? You, people of modern India are not like your forefathers at all. Your forefathers talked of Life Everlasting, of the eternal round of 'Samsara', of the vanity of worldly effort. Why hurry? There is an Eternity before you. Did they not speak of life after death? You live for ever. Why want equality at once? Wait." Applying this argument to the immediate problem of Kenya a great friend of ours, in whose good intentions I still have faith of a sort, mind you, told me: "Really you are unreasonable. It is true that there is not perfect equality between your people and mine in Kenya. Those fellows have got 11 seats on the Legislative Council and have given you 5. Well I admit this is an inadequate number. Certainly it ought to be increased and I am perfectly willing when the time comes to give you vote for 6." Who knows ten years hence or twenty years hence another enterprising man may come forward and tell us we will give you seven, and twenty years after that a still more beneficent-minded statesman may be willing to go ahead and venture to vote for 9, so that in about two or three centuries we shall reach the figure 11. Now that man was quite sincere. He thought that it was good enough progress for the Indian. An Anglo-Indian Civilian here told me: "If you want increased Indianisation, you are now, say about 11 per cent in the Services; you get it raised to 12 or 13 if you please and be done with it. Don't disturb us for another generation." Well, that is the way they have begun to talk to us. They do not deny the justice of our case. Only they are somewhat disquieted when we wish to rush along at this furious rate threatening the peace of India and the safety of the Empire but are willing to agree to "a more wholesome, better ordered rate of progress."

THE HARDENED BRITON

Now I come to the most pathetic part of the whole thing. There are some amongst us who believe that, for one reason or another, we must bide our time and obtain our due, may be more slowly than we wish. It finally we are sure that we shall get the thing, let us be content to march at even a slower rate than heretofore. Let me tell you frankly that I am one of those who sympathise with this line of argument. I also have always spoken for peaceful and constitutional progress, and I believe, examining my heart as minutely as I myself can, I am still on the side of peaceful and constitutional progress. I am quite willing that we should move slowly, provided that we were sure that our faces were set in the right direction and that day by day, year by year, we left things behind that were in

front and got along to positions which seemed too far off, provided that we were sure we were moving and moving ahead. But "are we sure", is the whole question. I thought we were. I do not think so any more, and therein lies my apprehension for the future. The Englishman having once been generous, is now afraid of his generosity. He thinks he has given too much and there is a disposition in England which, I am thankful, is not universal, but is undesirably prominent amongst the Die-Hards and Tories, who now wield the destinies of the Empire—there is a disposition on their part now to think that if they cannot actually take back, it is best to keep things stationary. You may plead justice, equality and the necessity of fidelity to promises and pledges and engagements. That does not touch the hardened Briton when he is bent on safeguarding his vested interests. I have seen it. Justice and equality, very well, fine things these. All homage is due to them and the Englishman is ready with his homage as well. But if a conflict with his interests arises, if without open barefaced denial he could keep off the evil day, he would by every means in his power. That may be human nature, and some of you may say we are no better perhaps. We are not anyhow, we have not been keeping an Empire, we do not wish to preserve rights stolen from other people. We do not wish to aggress and, therefore, let us speak with our limited experience and not test ourselves in any imaginary scale. The trial has not come to us and we may well, therefore, tell the people who boast so much about their principles of justice and human brotherhood; "Keep your engagements like honest folk, fulfil your promises like just kings, that take their power from on high and must use their power so as to be approved from on high." That we have continually to tell them.

VESTED INTERESTS AND BRITISH JUSTICE.

Lord Reading, to whom we have to look for guidance, from whom the words that come are certainly entitled to our respectful attention, counsels us in our future struggle to put faith in the sense of justice and righteousness of the British nation. Well, allow me to speak with a little freedom on this part of the subject. "The sense of justice of the British Nation" is an expression with which I am fairly familiar. I have used it on countless occasions. I know its full meaning, but I know, alas, its limitations also. There is a sense of justice, I will admit and admit to the full, but that sense of justice is not easily mobilised every day. You have got to stir it up and nothing stirs it up as the prospect of excitement and turmoil and trouble, as the prospect of something being in danger, of some vested interests being squashed in the struggle. Nothing stimulates the somewhat inactive sense of justice as the manifestation of your political strength.

A PAGE FROM PAST HISTORY.

Let us read the history of England. You remember, some time

ago, in the old days of the Ilbert Bill controversy, when nothing more serious was at stake than the continued enjoyment of an invidious privilege, the Europeans of Calcutta and the neighbourhood, on the occasion of this threatened loss of privilege, banded themselves together and went so far as to arrange for the deportation of Lord Ripon. He was to have been summarily seized and put on board a boat that had come up the Hooghly. Remember, however, no injury was to be done to him. Only he was to be deposed from his august position and taken away to be safely deposited somewhere on the more hospitable shores of Great Britain. That is how they teach us how to preserve rights. You have all read English history more or less. I will only go back to the recent struggle in Ireland. Had the Irish people no faith in the sense of justice of the British nation? Oh, they had, and they had plenty of it. Only whenever they made an appeal to the sense of justice of the British nation, these also made an appeal to some other sense, so that two or three senses quite awake to the situation and acting together might do some little justice. And how did the people in Kenya behave when their rights were threatened? No, not their rights, let me say their unjust privileges. They did the same thing. They gave notice to the Governor that if he was going to give anything like equal treatment to Indians or carry out laws to that effect framed by the British Cabinet, he also would be treated in the same gentle way in which the Viceroy of India was to be treated on the Ilbert Bill occasion. They had everything ready for seizure, not only of the Governor, but of his senior officials. Their places of detention were actually fixed.

CHAMPION OF KENYA WHITES.

That is the way in the British Empire, their own people, when they want things done, go about the business. One of you, heroically inclined, may say: "If I should do such a thing to-morrow what would be my fate?" I cannot promise him the treatment that they gave, for instance, to Lord Delamere in London. Lord Delamere was received everywhere. His words were listened to as if they were gospel truth. He had a seat in the House of Lords. The Duke of Devonshire was smilingly sweet on him; so was the Colonial Office from top to bottom. There was nothing that Lord Delamere could not do. And yet it was Lord Delamere who, as Executive Councillor in Kenya, had taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, had promised to administer laws and to do nothing to disturb the peace of the public and so forth, and whose duty it was to preserve the public peace—it was Lord Delamere who had presided at countless meetings where the white people threatened to rebel. He had himself presided and assisted at these disorderly proceedings. He was a man who, if the ordinary law had prevailed, should have been treated in the manner in which some thousands and thousands of our people are being treated to-day.

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL BATTLE.

I cannot promise you a treatment of that kind from the Government of Lord Reading, but you know where you are exactly. You could do things, if only your skin were white, which you cannot think of doing, being what you are. But with a your limitations, within the law, within the limits recognised as allowable to those who are struggling to regain lost liberties, who are struggling to obtain the slow fulfilment of pledges of long-standing and of solemn import, there is plenty which we, non-officials, may do. There is plenty for us to be doing night and day, and it will be my proud privilege, when I have left your kind and hospitable neighbourhood, to take my humble place amongst those who fight this peaceful and constitutional battle.

INDIANS OVERSEAS AND INDIAN STATES.

May be, I have done wrong to pour into the contented and placid ears of the citizens of the model State of India the moanings and wailings of my anguished spirit, but I think the question of Indians overseas affects Native States as well as British India. Moreover, I look forward to a time not far distant when the distinction between British India and Indian India will be one of form and not of substance. I look forward to a time not far distant when you will consider yourselves in daily life and not merely in theory, as citizens of a large beautiful and lovable India and not merely as citizens of Mysore. If to me and to those of my age that India is but a vision, there are about me young people who will raise glad and joyful eyes on that dream as the realised spectacle of daily life, and I believe you will forgive me if, for a moment, I have asked you in anticipation of some years yet to share with me some of the troubled thoughts with which the British Indian citizens are now oppressed.

SIXTH SESSION OF
The National Liberal Federation

POONA—26TH DECEMBER 1923

The following is the welcome address delivered by Dewa Bahadur K. B. Gokhale at the National Liberal Federation held at Poona on the 26th. Dec.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Sixth All-India National Liberal Federation, it is my privilege to-day to offer you hearty welcome to Poona. I may tell you that I am only a substitute or *BADLI* chairman, and as such I am not likely to be a very successful functionary. Sir Hormusji Wadia, the President of the Deccan Sabha, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee according to the original programme, but he resigned on account of his ill health and I have been asked to supply his place, rather late in the day. Under these circumstances, you will have to judge of my performance with some leniency.

The city to which I welcome you has a long record of political thought and activity behind it. The founder of the Great Maratha Empire was born in one of the hill-forts of the Poona District, and was educated in this city in his early years. It was in this Poona District that he commenced the formation of the Maratha Empire by acquiring territory and hill-forts from the Mahomedan Ruling powers of the day. After the Maratha power was established under Shivaji it became a large Maratha confederacy in the time of his grand-son Shahu and his Minister Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath.

The Peshwai head-quarters were in Poona, and it was from this city that the Maratha Empire was governed for upwards of seventy years. After the fall of the Maratha Empire also, Poona has continued to be an important place as it has been the capital of the Bombay Presidency during the greater portion of the year from the commencement of British Rule in western India.

Some of our most eminent public men such as the late Justice Ranade, G. K. Gokhale and B. G. Tilak were bred up and worked in this city. It was here that one of the most successful political organizations of its day, namely, the Sarva Janik Sabha was started by Justice Ranade in the seventies of the last century. This was an organization that commanded great prestige and influence in its day, controlled as it was by public men like Ranade and Gokhale. The late Mr. Gokhale started here in 1905 the Servants of India

Society which consists of public workers of the type of the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and Mr. G. K. Deodhar. It is to a city with these antecedents that I offer you a welcome this afternoon.

OUR LOSSES.

Since the last meeting of the Liberal Federation, we, on this side of India, have had to mourn the sad death of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar Kt. who was one of our foremost public men working in Political, Educational and Social fields in this Presidency in the Liberal ranks. He gave invaluable assistance and lead in all fields of his activity. At the time of his sad demise he was the President of the Bombay Legislative Council where his work was marked by conspicuous zeal and ability. Sir Narayan's loss has been found to be extremely difficult to replace. Another death which we have to mourn on this side is that of the late Mr. V. R. Gupte. He was a rising public man and actually died in harness while doing public work in the Bombay Legislative Council where he was attacked by paralysis a few hours before his death.

HISTORY AND POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY:

Before proceeding with my further remarks, I should like to place before you two extracts from the Liberal Party manifesto issued in August last. The first of these extracts gives a history of the formation of our Federation and runs as follows:—

"The Liberal Party of India is as old as the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and its greatest member was Dadabhai Naoroji. It is the party that is faithful to the traditions and principles, policies and methods, and is steadily and consistently carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress that was founded by Hume, served devotedly by Wedderburn, and rehabilitated after 1907 by Mehta and Gokhale among others. It exists to realize the ideal held forth by Dadabhai Naoroji at the great Congress of 1906, of Swaraj for India within the British Commonwealth. It seeks to achieve by constitutional action, Self-Government and Dominion Status for India as early as possible. It is to the constitutional efforts of the Indian National Congress that India owes the Reforms of 1892, 1909 and 1919. In connection with the last and most liberal of the three Acts, those robust-hearted Congressmen who had not lost faith or given up patience were obliged in the public interest to separate themselves from the old organization when it passed under a new control and ceased to be what it had been. They then founded the National Liberal Federation of India with the double object of ensuring the effectuation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in as liberal a form as possible and of sustaining the old Congress movement."

The second extract relates to the principal objects for which the Liberal party is working and will work in future. These are given as follows:—

1. The same status for India in her dealings with other members of the British Commonwealth as is accorded to the self-governing Dominions;
2. The approximation, as far as may be, of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India to the relations that subsist

between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Government of the Dominions, and the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;

3. A reform of the constitution and functions of the Government of India so as to make it responsible to the Legislative Assembly in all matters save foreign, political and military affairs, and including fiscal policy;

4. The abolition of Executive Councils in the provinces and the concentration of the whole of the Provincial Governments into ministries responsible to the Legislature;

5. The extinction of the provincial contributions to the Central Government;

6. A radical reform of military policy such that Indians may get into their proper place in all branches of the defensive organization of the country, and a substantial reduction of military expenditure;

7. A rapid Indianization of the Civil Services and their control by the Government of India instead of by the Secretary of State, as an integral and indispensable part of the policy of responsible government of India;

8. The widest possible diffusion of education and a reform of the system so as to bring it into greater harmony with Indian conditions and requirements;

9. The adoption of measures for the up-lift of all backward classes, and specially the provision of extended educational facilities for their boys and girls;

10. Legislation to bring land revenue policy under the control of the Legislature for the better protection of the legitimate interests of land-holders, and for the amelioration of the condition of tenants;

11. The improvement of agriculture and the development of the co-operative movement;

12. The development of Indian industries;

13. Social legislation, and the welfare of labourers;

14. The complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions as well as services;

15. The eradication of the drunk evil. The Indian Liberal Party will strive by vigorous and sustained constitutional methods to secure the above objects as early as possible.

I think the above extracts will be interesting to you as they give in a compact form the reasons why a separate Liberal party was formed and what that party proposes doing.

WORK OF THE COUNCILS.

Since the last meeting of our Federation at Nagpur, the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils formed in 1920 have ceased to exist and elections for the next triennial Assembly and Councils have taken place. The work of the Liberals in the old Assembly and Councils has been pronounced to be good and satisfactory. The members of the Liberal party inside the several Governments and legislatures have laboured unceasingly for the removal of wrongs and the redress of grievances as well as for the development of beneficial services and have proved the fitness of Indians for

the exercise of the rights of self-government. Their achievements have not been more marked and striking, on account of the periods of exceptional financial stringency in which India has been passing during the last three years, and also on account of the spirit of non-co-operation which was exhibited in some of the legislatures. Most of our Liberal ministers have worked with conspicuous zeal and singleness of purpose and have proved undoubted success.

NEED FOR VIGOROUS PARTY ORGANISATION AND PROPAGANDA.

The tale is, however, woeful, with reference to our new legislatures. Our foremost men like Sir Dinshaw Wadia, the right Honourable Mr. Sastri and others have been telling us repeatedly that we must have party organizations and regular propaganda work carried on not only in cities and large population centres but even in the remote country-side for educating our masters, the electors. The elector must learn to distinguish between his true friend and his impostor friend. The Liberal party has failed hitherto in doing the propaganda work and in forming the required organizations and the consequence has been that the party has been swept away in the recent elections. This is what Mr. C. V. Vaidya predicted in his Presidential address at the Kurad Provincial Liberal Conference of May 1923. This is what Mr. Gandhi said :—

"If that (the forming Liberal organizations) is not done in time, there is a very imminent danger of the party being wiped out at the coming elections, at which, so far as I am able to judge, the majority of the large number of our friends of the N. C. O. movement will try to elect the candidates for the purpose of either getting a reform in the Punjab and the removal of grievances through the Councils or finding fault, attacking the same."

What Mr. Gandhi predicted has come to pass and prominent Liberals, like Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Chimantlal Setalvad, Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Kamat on our side have lost their seats. The Congressmen section of the Congress calling themselves Swarajists put up a large number of candidates both for the Central Legislature and for the Provincial Councils and they have secured seats in considerable numbers defeating Liberal candidates in many cases. The numbers of declared Swarajists (Das party) politicians that have got into the Provincial Councils are 18 in Madras, 23 in Bombay, 45 in Bengal, 43 in the United Provinces, 9 in the Punjab and 42 in the Central Provinces. The figures for Bihar and Orissa and Assam are not available. In the Central Provinces, the Swarajists have a clear majority and rule the Council, which consists of 70 members altogether, if they work on right lines. All these successes of the Swarajists are due to the network of organizations that they have all over the country-side in the shape of District and Taluka Committees and the large followings they have created. The Non-co-operation and Congress organizations have been mainly helpful in procuring seats for our Swarajist friends.

WHAT WILL DASITES DO ?

It remains to be seen what the Swarajists are going to do after entering into the Councils and the Assembly. They are apparently not going to accept the responsibility of Government, judging by what Mr. C. R. Das, the Swarajist leader, has done in Bengal. The Government of Bengal is stated to have offered ministerships to Mr. C. R. Das's followers; but he, on behalf of his party, has declined to accept the offer. Apparently, therefore, the Swaraj party will be in the opposition. Their declared policy so far is to mend or end the Councils. If they mend the Councils, they will continue the work of the Liberal party and will practically be Liberals themselves. If they attempt to end the Councils and wreck them, they will do an incalculable harm to the country. The policy of the Swaraj party in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils is going to be settled on the 29th inst. and early next month.

As regards the Liberal party, we must take a lesson from what has taken place, and must form proper organizations and educate the electors by steady propaganda work. Whatever our lapses in the past, I trust that in this session of our Federation, we shall take some definite steps for the organisation of the party and the systematic education of the electorate. Unless this is done, the chances of Liberals getting in large numbers into the legislatures in the future will be very meagre. The Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has observed in his Nagpur Presidential Address of 27th December 1922, that the ordinary elector being illiterate, ignorant and desirous to be let alone is liable to be misled by the demagogue and persuaded to vote for the person who makes the most intemperate speeches and the most extravagant promises. This is quite true of the ordinary Indian elector. He must be properly educated and must learn to appreciate the value of his vote and the merits of the several candidates who ask for the same. He must know who is his true friend and who are empty talkers who will achieve nothing.

Having made the above general remarks with reference to the Liberal party and its present position, I carefully considered whether I should review in my speech in detail, the principal questions which have been before the public during the last year in India and in Indian Legislatures—questions in the Political, Social and Economic fields. I have come to the conclusion that it will not be proper for me to do so as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Chairmen in my position have done this in the past, but I consider this procedure to be open to objection and I will tell you why. We choose a President every year to guide the deliberations of the Federation and he is always a gentleman in the front ranks of our politicians and public men. I think it unfair that his Presidential address should be forestalled by another lengthy speech from the Chairman of the Reception Committee probably going over the same ground as the President has to cover in his address. This is

like cutting the sand under the President's feet. I will, therefore refrain from making any lengthy remarks on the questions of the day and will content myself by simply briefly referring to some of them.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS:

First is the treatment of Indians in Kenya and in the Colonies and Dominions of the British Empire. We have a President for this session who has complete first-hand information on this subject and who has just returned from a conference where this question was fully discussed. He has found a promising avenue for the solution of this important question, and we will soon have in his address his considered and mature views on this subject.

THE CERTIFICATION OF THE SALT-TAX.

The next item is the certification of the increase of Salt Tax by the Governor-General in March last, in face of the repeated opposition of the Legislative Assembly. Lord Reading has defended this action of his, in his speech at the European Association dinner at Calcutta on the 15th December 1923. Whether the certification was justified or not is another question, but it had the effect of putting the Liberal candidates at a considerable disadvantage in the recent elections. Several intelligent electors pointed to his certification and stated that the Councils and the Legislative Assembly were useless bodies when their decisions, as in the case of the Salt Tax, were flouted by Governors and Governor-General.

THE KHILAFAT.

Next comes the Khilafat question. A republic has been established at Angora and the Khalifa has been deprived of all temporal powers. Are the Mahomedans in India satisfied with this arrangement? Apparently they are, as we have had no agitation on this subject of late amongst our Mahomedan friends.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON SUPERIOR SERVICES.

The last item to which I will refer is the Royal Commission on Superior Services in India, which is at present holding its sittings in India. I have followed the proceedings of this Commission with considerable interest, as I hold some views on this subject formed during my membership of the Bombay Legislative Council of over ten years. Speaking generally, I hold opinions on this subject which are similar to those held by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. I hold that the present Imperial and all-India services should be constituted on a Provincial basis as soon as possible, except in the case of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. The element of Europeans in the latter two Services should be steadily decreased until it reaches the minimum compatible with the maintenance of law and order throughout India. The foreign element in the Indian Civil Service should be reduced to half the

whole strength of the service in the next ten years. In the case of the Police Service, the Indian element should be steadily increased until the European element is reduced to half the total strength in the next fifteen years. All other services should be provincial and under the control of local Governments and legislatures. They should be manned by Indians almost entirely, the few foreigners that may be needed being engaged on 5 years' or 10 years' contract on special terms. The pays of all ranks should be fixed on an Indian basis, Europeans being allowed 50 per cent additional overseas pay. The Provincial Services should be divided into two grades lower and upper, the pays of lower grades ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 750 and the pays of upper grades from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,200, the Commissioners and other divisional officers getting special allowances ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 800 per month.

The recruitment should be by open competition to the extent of 75 per cent. the remaining 25 per cent. being kept available for selection from lower services. I would have our superior services organized on the above lines. The all-India Services should be controlled by the Government of India and all other services by the Provincial Governments and legislatures. The control of the Secretary of State should be altogether abolished.

CONCLUSION.

Before concluding my remarks, I want to draw attention to one other point and that is the great necessity, that exists at present, of unification of several castes, creeds and religions that prevail in India, specially as regards political work in Councils and elsewhere. The differences between Hindus and Mahomedans must vanish, so must the differences and misunderstandings between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and Lingayats and Hindus. These class differences are clogging the wheels of progress in our legislatures and administration. The sooner they go, the better. As remarked by my friend Rao Bahadur Kale of Satara, we must all abandon the doctrine of hate and exclusiveness and cultivate the spirit of love and broad-mindedness. We, Liberals, must try our utmost to secure this end.

I have now done, and conclude by according once more a hearty welcome to you all.

You will now proceed to the election of your President.

The Presidential Address

By Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

The following is the text of the Presidential Address delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the National Liberal Federation held at Poona on the 26 December 1923.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

My first duty is to tender to you all my sincerest thanks for the great honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations this year. When about two months ago I received in London cablegrams from Sir Hormusji Wadia and Mr. Ambekar offering me the presidentship of the Liberal Federation, I was not free from considerable doubts as to whether I should accept the offer. But, after carefully thinking over it, I came to the conclusion that if the party to which I have the honour to belong had decided to call upon me to place my services at its disposal this year, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to respond to that invitation. Much as I appreciate the honour which you have conferred on me and much as I wish that your choice had fallen on some worthier person, I feel, however, that without your support and co-operation it would be impossible for any person in my position to achieve any success in what appears to me to be a crisis in the history of the Liberal party. I have no doubt that I shall receive your support in a generous measure and I feel that the very fact that this conference has been called this year, in this great and historic city, full of political memories of ancient days—a city which in our own generation has been the scene of activities of some of the most outstanding figures of modern India—should inspire us with some high and useful purpose.

Gentlemen, I have just spoken of the crisis in the affairs of the Liberal party and it will be my attempt to deal with it fairly and frankly and to invite you to face the situation in the same spirit. I do not propose to address you on too many subjects. I would much rather concentrate your attention and mine upon some of those problems which seem to me to be the most pressing. Of these, one affects our party, and that I propose to deal with at a later stage. Meanwhile, with your permission, I shall at once deal with two or three problems on which I have no doubt you would like to hear me.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

It was only on the 30th of the last month that I returned from England, after an absence of over five months. During a part of

that period I had to work at this Imperial Conference. I assume that you all have read the proceedings of that Conference, relating to the question of Indians overseas and I therefore do not propose to trouble you with much of what has appeared in the press. I desire simply to explain the position as it strikes me, and, while I shall no doubt express my own opinions, I shall leave it to you to form your own judgment.

KENYA.

The position, which arose when the Kenya decisions were given by His Majesty's Government in July last, was to my mind a most critical one. Important negotiations had been pending for some time past between the representatives of the Indians in Kenya and the white settlers there and the Colonial Office. For our part we had the satisfaction that our case was being put by a deputation which was led by one of our most distinguished countrymen, whose knowledge of the subject is only surpassed by his enthusiasm for the cause. I, of course, refer to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. When I reached London, I found that Mr. Sastri was deeply immersed in this question and it gladdened my heart to know that all that was humanly possible was being done by Mr. Sastri in an atmosphere which seemed to be charged with electricity. At last the White Paper was issued which led to the famous debate in Parliament, part of which I myself attended. Those decisions were received by our countrymen in England and here with feelings of indignation and dismay and I am afraid nothing that has happened during the last three or four years has tended more to weaken the faith of our countrymen in the justice of His Majesty's Government than these unfortunate decisions. While, on the one hand, it is said that His Majesty's Government cannot interfere with the internal autonomy of self-governing dominions and that no self-governing dominion will for a moment tolerate any encroachment on the part of His Majesty's Government upon the complete freedom of the dominions to pass their own laws relating to franchise—parliamentary and municipal—on the other hand it is felt that the same argument, assuming it to be valid or politically sound, cannot in the slightest degree apply to a Crown Colony. Kenya was and is still a Crown Colony; but it came to me as a surprise when a die-hard politician with whom we in India are not unfamiliar, presuming perhaps upon my ignorance, sought to enlighten me by saying that Kenya was not a Crown Colony and that though it had not a responsible Government it had an element of responsibility. It was a dangerous suggestion to make; for, similarly India might claim that though it has no responsible Government it has a measure of responsibility in the provinces at least. It was quite apparent to my mind that arguments such as these were absolutely untenable and the real fact of the matter was that His Majesty's Government found the white settlers too strong for them. It was urged by some of the statesmen, whom I saw in my private

capacity, that the Kenya decision had certainly improved the position of Indians in Kenya in certain respects. To put it at the lowest, it seemed to me to be a debatable point. Those among my countrymen who knew better the position of Indians, unhesitatingly maintained, that so far from their position having been improved, it had been seriously prejudiced in so far as the minority of the white settlers was placed in a position of political predominance and definitely acquired the right of exclusive ownership in the Highlands. Indeed, that was not the view of only the Indians. Even the Government of India did not at all feel happy over the decisions given by His Majesty's Government, and His Excellency the Viceroy felt himself called upon to say in a speech which he delivered to the Legislative Assembly that "the news of the decision regarding Kenya came to me and my Government no less than to you, as a great and severe disappointment; for India had made the cause of Indians in Kenya her own. As His Majesty's Government has stated, this decision conflicts on material points with the strongly expressed views of my Government, as laid before the Cabinet, by the Secretary of State for India". This was the state of things in which I found myself placed in London towards the end of July last.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE POSITION.

I am aware that it was felt in certain quarters, and by certain of my esteemed friends also, that I should immediately sever my connection with the Imperial Conference. I carefully considered the position but I was clear in my mind, that so far from withdrawing from the Conference, it was my duty to fight for the vindication of Indians' rights in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies and to try either to get the Kenya decisions reversed or at any rate to pave the way for their reconsideration. This is the task that I set to myself. I put myself immediately in touch with some of my political friends in India and I also communicated my views to His Excellency the Viceroy, who had deputed me on that mission. The more I thought about it the more strongly I felt that I should not give up the Conference, without at least making a struggle for the vindication of our rights. The friends whom I consulted were distinctly of the opinion that I must stay and fight for our rights, and I also received much support and encouragement from His Excellency the Viceroy. The difficulty which then confronted me was, that I found that India did not figure in the agenda of the Conference, excepting in regard to a small question relating to the mandated territories. I owe it to the support, which I received from Lord Peel after I had explained to him my position, that His Majesty's Government agreed to give India a day in the Conference. I then interviewed the Dominion Prime Ministers. I explained to them my scheme and I must say to the credit of all excepting of course General Smuts, that they generally agreed to support me.

Here I must state that from the beginning to the end, I took my stand on the resolutions of 1921, which we owe in no small measure to the efforts of Mr. Sastri, and I cannot allow the criticism in certain papers to go unchallenged, that I departed in any degree either from the letter or the spirit of those resolutions.

GENERAL SMUTS' ATTITUDE.

With General Smuts, my experience was however different. As I have said more than once, he was adamant. General Smuts has claimed that he showed me every courtesy. I have never denied it. On the contrary, I frankly admitted it in the speech which I delivered at the Lady Emily Lu-yee's residence, and I cannot imagine that General Smuts could have overlooked that portion of my speech. But if General Smuts at all expected that social courtesies on his part could in any measure or degree make amends for his attitude towards the Indian problem and that they could justify me in overlooking his attitude towards the political issue which was raised, he was sadly mistaken. I had not gone to ask for his sympathy with our aspirations towards self-government. I would much rather that we fought for battle for self-government single-handed than that we should seek his support or the support of any outsider in regard to those aspirations. I put before him a definite issue and he rejected it. Not only did he reject it, but he suggested, though he did not move, counter-proposals which to my mind were wholly subversive of the principle of citizenship, within the ambit of the same Empire and which, if accepted, must necessarily establish a higher and a lower grade of citizenship. Not only did he reject those proposals, but he also openly attacked the Indian Government in a manner in which, by his own standard, he should not have undertaken upon himself to criticise another Government which is a part of the same Empire. For, let me remind you of what he said: "I must say quite frankly," said General Smuts, "that I have been very much perturbed over the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in this matter. They pressed the case against Kenya in a way, which seemed to me to exceed the limits of prudence and wisdom, and when the settlement was ultimately made, language was used in regard to it, which I think would certainly not help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire. The whole accident, as I said, has had a very bad effect in South Africa." Now, if after this language and his whole attitude and after saying that franchise for coloured races in South Africa was "a question of impossibility," he expected me to treat him as the best friend of India, then he indulged in a vain hope. Frankly, gentlemen, I do not care whether he charges me with a breach of international etiquette or anything similar to it; I feel that the South African Government, of which he is the head, has adopted towards our countrymen, settled in that part of the Empire, an attitude which to use his own language,

cannot help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire.

I shall now briefly refer to my experience of the Colonial Office. With the Colonial Office I had no little difficulty, but it must be said to the credit of the Duke of Devonshire that while he saw no prospect of the Kenya decisions being modified, he at last agreed to extend the scope of my scheme to Kenya.

The Scheme of Committees

I shall now briefly explain to you, if I may, what my scheme was. That is contained in my speech and also in the speech delivered at the Conference by the Prime Minister and, lest it might be misunderstood, I would quote the formula as contained in the latter in *EXTENSO* :—

“The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that there should be full consultation and discussion, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a committee appointed by the Government of India, upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. At the same time, the Duke was careful to explain that before decisions were taken, as a result of discussion with the committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned, and in some cases local enquiry, would be necessary.

“Further, while welcoming the proposal, the Duke of Devonshire reminded the Conference, that His Majesty's Government had recently come to certain decisions as to Kenya, which represented in their considered view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him.

“Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while taking note of the above statement of the Duke, desired to make plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India.”

I shall now ask you to analyse and examine the provisions of the formula, which I have just quoted. While no doubt it is true that the Kenya decisions have not been reversed—and frankly speaking I did not expect that a decision given by His Majesty's Government in July last could be reversed by the Imperial Conference in October—I personally think that our position is distinctly stronger to-day and the prospect is more hopeful. I do not wish to put the case higher than this, nor do I wish to overlook the fact, that the real struggle will commence now. After the Kenya decisions it was generally understood, that the principle of equality embodied in the resolutions of 1921 had been

abandoned, if not directly, at least by implication, and in important quarters there was not a little nervousness as to what the Conference might do, if any one was rash enough to raise the Indian question. The result however shows that at the Conference of 1923 we have secured a most valuable endorsement of the resolutions of 1921. Next, we have re-opened the Kenya door and there is reason now to hope that justice may in the end prevail. The Conference has now definitely provided a scheme for machinery which, if rightly employed, will go far in the future to secure the proper investigation and the due remedy of the grievances under which Indians labour, whether in the Colonies or in the Dominions. Apart from our having gained an unequivocal expression of good-will towards our aspirations, from the other members of the British Commonwealth—excluding South Africa—a very important constitutional advance has been secured, namely, the right of the Government of India to negotiate with the Colonial Office through men appointed by itself. Lastly, we have again succeeded in isolating South Africa. I shall with your permission here explain a little more fully the object of this scheme for the appointment of committees.

The Scheme Explained

According to my scheme, the committee or committees must be appointed by the Government of India and not by the Secretary of State and will deal directly with the Colonial Office, in regard to all questions affecting British Indians in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. If necessary, the committee or committees to be appointed will have to go, when concerned with questions relating Indians in the Dominions, to Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the Prime Ministers of which countries expressed their willingness to abide by the resolutions of 1921, and to give effect to their provisions with the help and support of their Parliaments. Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Massey agreed to receive such committees and Mr. Bruce thought that he could give effect to the provisions of those resolutions without the help of such a committee. To use his own words, 'Australian public opinion is ready to welcome, so far as the position of Indians domiciled in Australia is concerned, any measure which is conceived in the interests of the Empire as a whole.' Further on, Mr. Bruce summed up the position as follows:—

"In view of the position which exists in Australia and the consideration which has been given to the question, there is no necessity for a committee further to discuss the matter such as has been suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. While I appreciate the spirit in which it is put forward, I do not think in the special circumstances of Australia there is any necessity for such action. On my return to Australia I will consult with my colleagues as to what action can be taken."

In reply to this I stated as follows:—

“ We do not want to send a committee to create any agitation in his country (that is, Mr. Bruce’s)—or for the matter of that, any agitation in any country, and I can absolutely feel sure that, that is not what is at the back of my mind ; but if it is necessary for us to explain our position to you and to help you in the problem, for Heaven’s sake do not refuse to accept a committee like that. We want simply to help you, and if without receiving a committee from my Government and my country, you can solve the problem, so much the better for you, so much the better for us, and so much the more creditable to you and to your Government.”

British Columbia.

Since I left England, I have learnt that the Parliament of British Columbia has expressed its unwillingness to make any concession in favour of Indians in regard to franchise. Well, I am neither surprised nor disappointed. At the time when the discussion took place I fully knew that it would not be without much difficulty that our committee would be able to create an impression on those in authority in British Columbia. But I have no doubt, that if the committee goes to Canada at an early date, it should be able to come to some settlement, notwithstanding the fact that the attitude of British Columbia is at present, as it has been for some time past, one of obduracy. But in this connection I shall quote from Mr. Mackenzie King’s speech :

“ It is probable that the Dominion Franchise Act will come up for revision at the approaching session of Parliament. I told Mr. Sastri it was hardly probable it would come up last session, but that I thought it would come up next session. If the course we anticipate is followed, the Franchise Act will be referred to a Committee of the House and that Committee will be in a position to hear any representations that may be made to it.”

Further on he stated: “ If it were their (i.e., the Indian delegates’) desire to have the delegation given an opportunity of meeting the Parliamentary committee to which the matter will be referred for consideration, I should be glad to see if the time of their visit so permitted, that they were given a chance to meet the members of that committee and to confer with them at Ottawa. It other words, we would be only too happy, to give any group which may come from India, any person she may send, the amplest opportunities to discuss with our public men all aspects of this particular question. I say this having regard to the meeting of approach Sir Tej has presented to us here. He has made it clear that the committee would come for the purpose of exploring avenues and ways and means to reach an ultimate result. He should recognise that we may have to take time in this matter, but I would like him to believe that we are sincere in hoping that we

will be able to meet his wishes. In seeking so to do we may have to proceed step by step, but the Canadian people as a whole are, I am sure, really desirous of meeting our fellow British citizens from India in every reasonable particular. I have not the slightest doubt about that."

It will thus be seen that so far as Mr. Mackenzie King is concerned, he has pledged himself to give every facility to our committee and I think I may say, that his attitude will be one of helpfulness. It is precisely because British Columbia is obdurate or obstinate, that we have got to send a strong committee and strengthen its hands by our support.

Crown Colonies and Kenya.

I shall now pass on to the Crown Colonies and particularly to Kenya. For the administration of the Crown Colonies, including Kenya, His Majesty's Government is directly responsible through its Colonial Office. During my negotiations, it became quite clear that it was impossible for me to get the Duke of Devonshire or His Majesty's Government to go back at once on their decisions. I was equally clear, that the Kenya decisions could not be allowed to go unchallenged and though they might not be reversed or reconsidered in October 1923, the situation might change, political conditions might be more favourable at no distant time, and what seemed to be a hopeless position then, might improve if we persisted in our attempt to secure justice and equality for our nationals there. It therefore seemed to me that the next best thing that could be done was to get an undertaking from the Colonial Secretary, that he would extend the scope of the scheme to Kenya also. Accordingly the formula which I have quoted above was settled and it is, "that while the Duke saw no prospect of those decisions being modified, he promised that he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him." After the formula was read by the Prime Minister I stated in my last speech that to me as an Indian, it was of course disappointing that the Duke saw no prospect of modifying the Kenya decisions, which could never be accepted in India. I further stated as follows:—"But his agreement with the principle of my scheme, and his consent to give careful attention to such representations as the committee may lay before him, inspires me with the hope that the door is not barred, and that the Colonial Office may be shown the way to an acceptable solution." Now, speaking candidly, I do not think that there can be any room for doubt, that the Kenya decisions have been robbed of that finality, which was claimed for them in July last and that they must come up for reconsideration. Meanwhile, since I arrived in India, I have learnt that the Kenya legislature has introduced an Immigration Ordinance which is extremely drastic in its character, and which, if allowed to become law, will practically stop Indian

emigration to Kenya. I have not yet been able to read the terms of this Ordinance and my knowledge of it is confined to the summary which has appeared in certain newspapers. Of course we cannot accept an Ordinance of that character, and we must plainly tell the Colonial Office that that ordinance, if allowed by them to become law, will complicate the problem still further. In the situation that has arisen, it seems to me that a committee regarding Kenya should go at once from India to England, to make representations to and enter into discussions with the Colonial Office, without any loss of time. I have strong hopes that the Government of India will not allow the grass to grow under their feet and that they will expedite the appointment and despatch of such a committee, consisting of strong, tactful and weighty persons at the earliest possible date. As I visualise to myself the situation, it seems to me that the committee so appointed, should first tackle the question of immigration and then raise the bigger questions arising out of the Kenya decisions. You will perhaps ask me, what guarantee there is that this committee will succeed in gaining any solid or substantial results. My answer to such a question would be this. If the men you send are strong and reasonable, they should be able to achieve something substantial, more particularly because the Government in England appreciate now the depth and strength of the feeling on this question. And for aught we know to the contrary, we may have at no distant date a more favourable Government. As all experience shows, decisions which were at one time considered to be final, have had to be reconsidered and although it is true that the white settlers in Kenya have got the moral support and sympathy of South Africa, which to my mind is a factor not to be ignored, yet it does not seem to me beyond the scope of statesmanship to arrive at a settlement which would more effectively safeguard the economic interests of our countrymen in Kenya and remove the sting of racial inferiority. Indeed it seems to me that unless this is done, the tension created by the Kenya decisions must continue to exist and India must refuse to accept a position of inferiority in the Empire.

I am aware of the objections that have been raised to this scheme, which has been accepted by the Imperial Conference. It has been said that the committees will be expensive. That they will cost some money I have no doubt, but political fights in these days necessarily involve expenditure. I do not know of any political organisation at present existing in India, which can carry on its propaganda or achieve any substantial results without pecuniary sacrifices. At the same time I think the expenditure involved should by no means be so heavy, as to justify our rejection of the scheme. It has next been asked, if the committee fails to achieve any result, what is to be done next? I should not like to anticipate events, but, in all constitutional fights it seems to me the failure of one step is only an incentive to another. Frankly speaking, those who raise

objections of this character should be prepared to suggest alternatives and if they have alternatives of their own, why have they not hitherto acted on those alternatives and what has been there to prevent them from taking independent action of their own? It is far better that we should work steadily and patiently but with full determination to get the wrongs remedied than that we should indulge in threats which we do not mean to give effect to or which we know or ought to know cannot be given effect to.

South Africa.

I shall now pass on to South Africa. The problem is the biggest there. There are about 161,000 Indians there, who, excepting a few thousands residing in Cape Colony, have no political franchise. In Natal their municipal franchise is threatened. In the Transvaal there is no franchise of any kind. In Natal they cannot acquire town lands in townships and in the Transvaal they are prohibited, either as individuals or as companies, from acquiring land. In the Gold area they cannot occupy land. The manner in which traders' licenses are granted and the law relating to them is administered, makes their lot still more unbearable. Last of all, the Union Government has under contemplation legislation providing for the compulsory segregation of Indians in urban areas, by imposing certain restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land. All these facts I brought forward in my speech at the Conference and nowhere throughout his speech did General Smuts challenge any one of them. Throughout his speech he treated the Indian question as if it was a question only relating to franchise, and yet he asserted that he did not think that his Indian fellow subjects could complain of injustice "and that it was just the opposite." Consider for a moment the manner in which he spoke. "People who have come there as coolies," said General Smuts, "people who have come there as members of depressed classes in India, have prospered. Their children have been to school; they have been educated, and their children and grand-children to-day are many of them men of great wealth." One should have thought that if these men had acquired wealth and received education they were good enough to exercise some sort of political and municipal franchise. But General Smuts' position is that he cannot make a distinction between these men and the original inhabitants, and he says:—"You have a majority of blacks in the Union, and if there is to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the whites would be swamped by the blacks; you cannot make a distinction between Indians and Africans, you would be impelled by the inevitable logic to go the whole hog, and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped in Natal by the Indians, but the whites would be swamped by the blacks, and the whole position for which we have striven for two hundred years or more, now would be given up. For White South

Africa, it is not a question of dignity but a question of existence and no Government could for a moment either tamper with this position or do anything to meet the Indian point of view." This is the unqualified doctrine of white supremacy within the British Empire—a doctrine which to my mind cannot be accepted by those who owe allegiance to a common sovereign. In the first place, General Smuts conveniently forgets that the whites in the Africa are as much foreigners as the Indians. In the next place the Indians there, who according to his own admission, have been educated and have acquired wealth, cannot justly be grouped together with the blacks until the latter have reached the same stage of civilisation. In the third place, even assuming that the predominantly large number of Indians is a standing menace to the safety of the whites, that may be an argument for regulating the law of franchise, but it can never be an argument for the permanent and wholesale disenfranchisement of the Indians, and in any case there can be no justification for those economic restraints which have been put upon Indians and which, apart from imposing indignity on them and on India, strike at the very root of their prosperity as well as freedom. What I was most anxious about was that General Smuts should join hands with the Government of India in exploring avenues for the solution of this difficult problem. I knew that he had dissented from the resolutions of 1921 and I had little or no hope that I could persuade him to agree to those resolutions now. But he would give nothing, consent to nothing, and hold out no hopes. On the contrary, as I have shown above, he showed his concern not only in the whites of South Africa but also in those of Kenya, and attacked the Government of India for their attitude towards the Kenya decisions. He also refused to agree to the appointment of a diplomatic agent to be sent by the Government of India to look after the Indian interests there and to act as an intermediary between it and the South African Government and to keep the Government of India well informed of the facts relating to Indians there. I am satisfied that from General Smuts and his Government we need not expect the smallest possible response to our demands, and I believe that if he persists in the course which he has adopted, the problem of Indians in South Africa will at no distant date become such a grave problem, that it will be a source of the greatest weakness to the very idea of imperial unity, of which he professes to be an ardent exponent and apostle. It is bound to lead to a cleavage among the subjects of our common Sovereign on racial lines, and however much we may regret it, it must be recognised that when that stage is reached it will be a most disturbing factor in imperial unity, which will have to be reckoned with seriously by those who are unwilling at the present moment to recognise its evil potentialities. Here let me strongly repudiate one of the propositions urged by General Smuts, viz. "We must not derive from the one British citizenship, rights of franchise, because that would be a profound mistake." I regret that even the

Duke of Devonshire fell a prey to this confusion when he sought to make a distinction between imperial nationality and "local citizenship." If however imperial citizenship is not a mere shadow but consists of something substantial, then I cannot see how it is possible to divide that citizenship into two grades, a higher and a lower. You may raise your franchise as high as you like, but I do maintain, and maintain very strongly, that notwithstanding any measure of internal autonomy that you may possess, you cannot bar out any section of His Majesty's subjects, merely on racial grounds. The question, therefore, arises as to what is to be done with regard to South Africa. General Smuts will not have a diplomatic agent from the Government of India, he will not have a committee to investigate the facts and explore the avenues for a solution, he will not remove the economic restraints imposed on our countrymen and, I fear, he will persist in his policy of segregation. If we had a fairly substantial population of white South Africans living or carrying on trade in India, I should not despair of a solution. But as matters stand, he can pursue his even course in the name and on behalf of the whites there and refuse to be dictated to by any outside authority on the ground that South Africa is an independent self-governing unit of the Empire. India on the other hand is not a self-governing unit and its Government is still in the leading strings of the India Office and His Majesty's Government. Meanwhile, in recent years, Natal has been making money out of its coal trade with India.

Tariff against South African Coal.

I certainly think that the time has come when the Government of India should take courage in both its hands and failing to get any satisfaction out of General Smuts, as it is bound to fail, raise the tariff against South African coal, reduce railway freights for Indian coal, improve transport facilities, and give other encouragement to the local coal industry. Unless some such action is taken by the Government of India and unless it tells the authorities in England, that out of respect for Indian feeling and also on consideration of self-respect it must be allowed to take this line, I think nothing that we may do will produce any impression on the South African Government. I think the safety and prosperity of our brethren in South Africa and our own national dignity demand that we should call upon the Government of India to take a strong line, in dealing with South Africa; for I am convinced that if the Government of India feels that by representations or negotiations it can achieve any satisfactory results now or for a long time to come, such attempts are doomed to failure and their failure is bound to lead to a development of political feelings in this country which will be extremely embarrassing to it in regard to its internal administration.

To sum up, my view is, that so far as the Dominions other than South Africa and the Crown Colonies including Kenya are concerned, we must give a patient trial to the scheme which has been adopted

by the Imperial Conference and do nothing in the meantime which may prejudice the course of negotiations with the Dominions or the Colonial Office in regard to Kenya. But so far as South Africa is concerned, I am clear that there is need for strong action on the part of the Government. I say the Government, for unless the duly-constituted Government asserts itself in an unequivocal manner in a controversy with another Government, the result of any action on our part may be far from satisfactory or substantial.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The position of India in relation to the Imperial Conference is a peculiar one. To quote the words of Mr. Duncan Hall, "The recognition of the right of India to a place in the Imperial Conference is a mark of her special position and circumstances. No other portion of the Empire can yet be said to have advanced sufficiently towards self-government to have any just claim to recognition as a member of the Conference." India has got a vote as every Dominion has, and speaking for myself, I must gladly acknowledge that the Indian delegation was listened to with patience and courtesy. Indeed the one thing noticeable throughout the proceedings of the Conference was the atmosphere of good-will in which we worked. But when I say this, I think I owe it to you to say also, that the thought was not absent from my mind, that if India were a self-governing Dominion, it could speak with greater authority and greater power. The Ministers of the Dominions speak with the consciousness that they have their Parliaments and their countries behind them. Not so is the case of the non-official Indian representatives. The Indian representatives have no mandates from their Parliament and the Indian Government is not yet an independent Government. Undoubtedly, to my mind India's prestige in this Council of the Empire would be infinitely greater if she could deal with the rest of the Empire on terms of perfect equality, and it is for this reason that I feel that unless and until India first achieves self-Government the position of her nationals overseas must always continue to be more or less unsatisfactory. We are reminded every now and then by our critics, friendly and otherwise, that we must wait and be in no hurry to press the claims of our countrymen in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies until a more favourable change takes place in the opinion of the white settlers. It seems to me that if India were a self-governing country the necessity for addressing these injunctions to the white settlers would be equally strongly felt. As matters stand at present, the underlying basis for advice of this kind is, that Indians can at best expect an indulgence. I do not think that if India were a self-governing country within the Empire, the wishes of her Government or her people could be ignored or a decision which was resented even by the Government of India could be given, as it was in July last when on the main questions the opinion of the white settlers

prevailed. It therefore seems to me that while on the one hand it is our duty to emphasise our claim regarding proper, just and equal treatment outside India, our duty is even more imperative that we should lay still greater stress upon the achievement of responsible Government in India itself. This leads me on to the second part of my address.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

The present constitution has been in force for the last three years and we have just passed through the turmoil of the second general elections. When the reforms were initiated political India found itself split into two camps. Our party decided at that time to enter the Councils and to work the reforms. There were others who would have nothing to do with them, who looked upon them as a mere camouflage and who thought that the political salvation of India lay not in working the reforms in the Councils but by opposing them and by boycotting the Councils. We had to bear the heat and burden of the day, we had to court much unpopularity. Undoubtedly the other party was better organised, more richly possessed of the sinews of war. We had however the courage of our convictions and according to our lights worked the reforms. In the process of working them, we came into conflict with popular opinion in regard to certain matters and towards the end of our term in the Councils we were in acute disagreement on not a few occasions with official opinion. The verdict of the electorates at the last elections has gone against us. That is a fact which must be recognised, and even in quarters where our work was appreciated at one time, there is a tendency to belittle it and to find fault with our outlook. Speaking for myself, I am not in the slightest degree perturbed, if in certain official circles, which shall be nameless, there has been a change of attitude towards us. I should be sorry indeed if, as repeatedly asserted by our political detractors, there was an iota of truth in the charge made against us, that we had entered into an unholy alliance with the bureaucracy against the liberties of our country. We were prepared to work and I have no doubt we shall continue to work with those in power only on one condition, that is, that we reserve to ourselves in the fullest possible measure the liberty of taking a line of our own, when a course proposed to be taken by the Government on a particular occasion does not commend itself to our judgment or conscience. I do not think that we can have any justification for surviving as a party, if we allow our judgment to be subordinated to any extraneous considerations. As regards the popular verdict I venture to think that it would not have been so wholly against us as it has been if we had been better organised and had taken care long before the elections, to educate public opinion more effectively. You will pardon my frankness if I say, that so far as the education of public opinion is concerned, we have not done a fraction of what was necessary and thereby allowed the impression

to go abroad that everything that went wrong in the country during the last three years was done either with our connivance or with our acquiescence.

LIBERALS' RECORD OF WORK.

Our party's record of work in the Councils taken EN MASSE has on my mind been such, that we could reasonably expect at least some credit for it. It is due to your efforts that the Press Act of 1910 has been repealed. To you also the country owes the repeal of many other repressive laws, and if circumstances had been more favourable, have no doubt that one or two other pieces of similar legislation which still stand on the statute book would have disappeared. I can multiply instances of legislation and other solid work for which you may claim credit. When the true facts relating to the situation during the last three years are published, even those who condemn you to-day without knowledge or because of prejudice, and as I maintain without justification, for having been parties to what they describe as wholesale repression, will regret that they have indulged in language which, howsoever profitable as an electioneering device, will not be endorsed by history. From knowledge that I possess I feel satisfied that without your moderating and restraining influence the position of your critics would have been much worse. Professedly, you could not favour and I hope you will never favour anything which disturbs or prejudices the orderly development of the country. But really true it is that you did all that you could to pour oil over troubled waters, and if you failed in your attempts, the blame cannot on my mind be laid at your doors. On the other hand, if personalities are eliminated and party passions kept well under control, it must be frankly admitted that it is a great tribute to your foresight that those who refused to enter the Councils in 1920 have after three years decided to follow your example.

THE WRECKING OF COUNCILS.

It is true that they are going into the Councils with professions of destruction on their lips, but you must make allowance for their very natural desire to seem to be consistent. As to whether they will succeed in destroying the Councils the next three months will show. Speaking here again from my knowledge of the constitution and of the machinery of administration, I have very serious doubts as to whether even a fraction of the threats which are at the present moment held out will materialise. But even assuming that unfortunately the stage is reached when they will succeed in giving effect to their threats and the entire machinery of the Government is paralysed, it will be for these wreckers to give us the alternative to the present constitution. You will at any rate have the satisfaction that you have been no party to the wrecking of the constitution and it may very well be, that those of you, who may find themselves face to face with a situation like this in the Assembly or the Provin-

cial Councils may yet try to prevent the machinery from wholly being wrecked. It is assumed however by those who are at present going into the Councils, that they and they alone desire and are prepared to work for the achievement of responsible government in India. The facts however are too strong for such an assumption. Within the very first year of its existence, a resolution was moved in the last Assembly urging further constitutional progress. The Government of India sent a despatch to the Secretary of State and the present Secretary of State sent a reply which is well known to you. The Secretary of State vaguely hinted at the possibility of further exploring the avenues of progress under the present Government of India Act. What exactly he meant by it I cannot say. But time after time, your representatives in the Assembly gave free and forcible expression to the desire for further constitutional advance. Meanwhile opinion has crystallised in Liberal circles all over India, and during the last two years the Liberal party has not hesitated to express its views on the question freely and frankly. I personally think the time has come when you should definitely frame a programme, put it before the country and the Government, work for it and fight for it. I have no doubt whatever that when you put forward that programme, it will be received with strong opposition in official circles in India and if the present Government should continue in England, you need expect very little from it in the way of constitutional advance. Arguments which were used 30 years ago against any progress are still being used to-day and I have no doubt that they will continue to be so used if the question of constitutional advance arises not now but 30 years hence. Opposition of this character need not deter you. You have conquered such opposition in the past and I have no doubt that you will still be able to conquer it in the future. But to my mind, it is not enough that you should formulate your programme. It is at least as necessary that you must effectively deal with your opponents' arguments, and even more than that it is necessary that you should set your house in order first.

THE POSITION IN THE PROVINCES.

The position at the present moment is that in the provinces you have got diarchy with partial responsibility. Diarchy has got very few friends left in India, either among officials or non-officials. The whole basis of diarchy was that in regard to certain subjects of administration Ministers would have complete control and in regard to others they would have an effective voice. So far as the transferred subjects are concerned it is an admitted fact that the Ministers have been expected to make bricks without straw. They have had practically no control over the purse and our finances have been at the lowest ebb in almost every province. It is as much to the credit of the statesmanship of our Ministers as to the sense of discipline of the services, Imperial and Provincial; associated with them, that

side the Government there has not been friction, such as under the constitution might have paralysed the administrative machinery. But experience has exposed its defects and we must profit by experience. As regards the other half of the Government, experience shows that at least in certain provinces, Ministers have had no effective voice and the system of joint deliberations which the Parliamentary Committee so much emphasised, has not been allowed to the extent to which it might have been. Besides there has been no such thing as joint responsibility of the Ministers either. Indeed, in at least one province, the differences between the Ministers and the members of the Executive Council have on certain important occasions, come to the surface in open Council. On the other hand, the position of the Ministers in at least some parts of India has been far from enviable, as they have not had that support from the Councils, without which true responsible government is impossible.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

In the central Government the position if anything is even more unsatisfactory. On the top of the central Government is the Secretary of State and it should never be forgotten that the power of direction, superintendence and control which is vested in him, is not a mere figure of speech. It is a very real and living control. At any rate I have not noticed much evidence of any self-abdication on the part of Whitehall. In the altered state of things, notwithstanding, the theory of the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for the good government of India, the centre of political gravity has shifted from Whitehall to Delhi and Simla and yet the position of the Government of India is by no means a very enviable one. On the one hand, constitutionally it is under the control of the Secretary of State, on the other it has to deal with an assembly which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority. The executive is irremovable, but all the same excepting in regard to certain matters it feels the pressure of solid non-official opinion in the Assembly. A Government, situated as it is, can never depend upon the support of any party in the Assembly. It may at times accept compromises, which perhaps it would have rejected if it had a party to fall back upon and when it refuses to accept any such compromises it comes into conflict with non-official opinion in the assembly and popular opinion outside. On the other hand, an Assembly which knows that it can criticise the Government and offer obstruction whenever it can close up its ranks, but which is not entrusted with any responsibility, must more or less be always in an attitude of suspicion and resent the limitations which have been placed upon its powers.

A THOROUGH RE—EXAMINATION NEEDED

Taking the situation as it is, I submit that a true sense of responsibility cannot grow in a soil like that of the Assembly.

Admittedly, the constitution, which was given by the Act of 1919, was of a temporary character and the Government of India Act itself contemplates the appointment of a commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions, etc. It seems to me that upon a true construction of section (84 A) it cannot possibly be held that this commission cannot be appointed before the expiration of 10 years. I think the whole position has been put very pointedly by Mr. Hope Simpson (whose re-election to Parliament I welcome) in a speech, which he delivered last month, at the National Liberal Club. "It is patently unreasonable", said Mr. Hope Simpson, "that India should be condemned to the administration of a faulty constitution for six long years, if intermediate reform is possible; nor can I see any reason why the statutory provision for an examination in 1929 should preclude examination of the question before that date. Only good can come from investigation of the working of the machinery set up under the Act of 1919. If all is well, it is good that this fact should be authoritatively stated. If there are weak points, they should be strengthened—if modification is required the change necessary should be undertaken. The case is one for detailed careful and thorough enquiry, in all its aspects by a commission of first class men, to include an expert in constitutional law." With these observations of Mr. Hope Simpson I need scarcely tell you that I am in complete agreement and I have repeatedly urged them myself, both here and in England during the last twelve months. There are no doubt dangers in over-acceleration, but to my mind there are even greater dangers in undue delay. At a recent debate in the Royal Colonial Institute Sir William Vincent, who can speak with direct knowledge which is by no means out of date, is reported to have stated as follows:—"Sir William Vincent emphatically declared that Britain had given India certain solemn undertakings, and it was impossible for Britain to go back on them. None was more alive to the dangers of over-acceleration of the reforms than those who have some measure of responsibility for carrying on the administration. But it was impossible in the new system, which has been inaugurated, for good or bad, to carry on the old system of bureaucratic government that had got to change with changing times, and the sooner they made up their mind to that the better it would be for future relations." These are not the words of an irresponsible agitator or a dilettante politician. They are the words of a man who has had intimate experience of the reforms and who has held so many distinguished positions in India under the old and new systems alike. I, therefore, think that it is the weakness of the present constitution which furnishes the strongest argument for a thorough re-examination of the whole position and when to that is added the undoubted fact that political sentiment in this country among all classes has unmistakably been growing and at a new consciousness

is pervading the whole of the country. I cannot see how it is consistent with statesmanship or with the best interests of England and India to postpone the appointment of such a commission until 1929. Indeed, Mr. Montagu himself, during the passage of the Government of India Bill, declared that the law relating to the appointment of the statutory commission was not like the law of Medes and Persians and I for one fail to see how either the Government of India or the Secretary of State or Parliament can improve the position by waiting until 1929. On the other hand there is every danger that the situation may still further deteriorate and what may be possible now to achieve, with the good-will of all of many, may present difficulties of an enormous character, a few years hence.

AMENDMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

I am aware, that it is held in certain quarters that it is possible to make an advance in certain directions under the present Government of India Act itself, without in any way modifying or altering the provisions thereof. Even assuming that the Secretary of State in Council may by rules framed under section 19 (A) of the Act, regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in him, with a view to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act 1919, it is obvious that such relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State will be very much different from genuine responsible government. Let us assume further, that under the Government of India Act itself, it is possible to establish provincial autonomy. Will you be satisfied with provincial autonomy without a corresponding change in the character and composition of the Central Government? The words "provincial autonomy" seem to have a great fascination for some of us, but I venture to think, that when you will take the trouble of viewing the Government as a whole, you will not be free from serious doubt as to whether in actual practice it is practicable to give the provinces autonomy, when the Central Government, which must continue to deal with certain national matters of the most vital character, will continue to own the control of a higher authority. From a purely constitutional as also an administrative point of view, I think the system will not work even fairly satisfactorily for long and I am afraid there will be constant friction between the so-called autonomous provincial Governments and the Central Government. It is true that the sphere of functions of the two Governments may be more clearly defined, but it seems to me inevitable that in certain matters affecting the interests of the country as a whole, your Ministers will be in the unenviable position of choosing between their supporters in Councils and the Central Government. It seems to me that nothing can be more ill-assorted or more likely to retard the growth of full and real responsible institutions in this country, than to introduce complete responsibility in the provinces and place them under the control of an irremovable and irresponsible executive in

the Central Government. The spirit actuating the two respectively will be, if not antagonistic, very different and I am afraid that instead of getting the substance of responsibility, you will get the shadow. Among other problems of the future as I envisage, it is the problem of having a Central Government which in regard to national matters will be the most cohesive element. For, our provinces can not in the interest of national safety and national progress afford to be too provincial. I am not pleading for the introduction of dualism in the Central Government. All that I am urging is, that the field of administration covered by the Central Government should be carefully surveyed and examined, the sphere of functions of the central and provincial Governments should be precisely defined, and that the civil administration in charge of the Central Government should be made responsible to the extent to which it is made responsible in the provinces. This necessarily gives rise to the question as to what we are to do in the future with the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India.

THE ARMY.

As regards the army, I desire to emphasise that it is such a huge and delicate machinery and the problems connected with it are of such a complex and technical character, that I think you will be well advised not to press for its control, until you are ready for it. It should not however be beyond the scope of statesmanship to provide ample statutory safeguards for the army budget. That is a matter for experts. Meanwhile, we should have a definite and steadily progressive programme for the Indianisation of the army, by which I understand the providing for the recruitment of Indian officers, with the highest training in the different branches of the army. This must necessarily be a slow process, but not so slow as I am afraid will be the case if no further progress is made upon the scheme, which was adumbrated early this year—a scheme which, though it is a concession to Indian sentiment, is very far removed from the real Indianisation of the army and may take generations before our aspiration in that direction bears fruit. If the scheme which was put forward before the Assembly early this year, has not evoked much response or enthusiasm in it is to no small extent due to the consciousness that whatever it may do it cannot achieve the end, which it professes to achieve, within any reasonable distance of time. I shall perhaps be asked, as to who in future is to administer the Army Department and who is to represent it in the legislature. Well, gentlemen the Foreign and Political Departments are supposed to be in the hands of the Governor-General himself and yet the fact that the Governor-General is not a member of the legislature has not placed those Departments at any special disadvantage. Similarly, I think, some such arrangement will have to be arrived at, by which the Governor-General may assume definite responsibility for the administration of the army and be also

represented in the Assembly of the future. These are matters for the examination of the commission, which I have suggested above, and I, therefore, refrain from going into details. It is sometimes urged that India can never be a self-governing country, unless it is able to assume responsibility for its defence. Well, if in the case of some Dominions England could take responsibility for their defence, until they were able to assume that responsibility for themselves, why not in the case of India?

THE INDIAN PRINCES

Not less important is the problem relating to the Indian Princes and their relations to the Central Responsible Government. That there are some enlightened and patriotic Princes I readily admit, but the vast majority of them, I maintain, are extremely jealous of their rights and dignities, and having been accustomed to centuries of the autocratic rule, they cannot be expected easily to fall into line with democratic institutions. So, far from courting their opposition or arousing their suspicion, it is far better, that in the interest of the bulk of the country, you should leave them alone, and let them remain under the direct charge of the Viceroy, than that you should try to bring them into direct relation with your responsible Government of the near future. I am open to argument and should always be ready to accept a better plan but I suggest to you that you should adopt a programme for responsible Government in the provinces and a corresponding, **SIMULTANEOUS** modification of the character and composition of the Government of India.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

I shall now briefly notice some of the arguments which may be urged against any such further constitutional advance in the near future.

(1) In the first place, it is urged that a democratic responsible Government in India is an impossibility, without an intelligent and capable electorate. Under the present scheme we have got an electorate of some 5 millions. The election of 1920 was criticised on the ground that a considerable number of electors abstained from voting. This year, although exact figure are not yet available, it is a fact that a very much larger number of electors have gone to the polls. Howsoever, we, as party politicians may regret the electors' choice, the fact that they have gone to the polls in much larger numbers is significant. You cannot increase the intelligence and the capacity of the masses by keeping them away from the exercise of those rights, which are best appreciated and valued only when they are exercised. If I may be permitted to quote from an article which I contributed to the **CONTEMPORARY REVIEW** for November, "I maintain very strongly that the mass of our people are naturally shrewd and understand their local problems. They are far more ~~quidely~~ ^{quidely} than people of their class in any other country.

They are responsive to generous treatment and elevating influences. The consciousness of the possession of political power and the repeated exercise of it at elections, should in itself be an education of incalculable value. In addition there is an obligation upon those who seek their suffrages to give them political education." To those who constantly remind us of the illiteracy or want of education of our masses without at the same time recognising their own share of the responsibility for that state of things I shall say, "Do not forget the history of your own country in or about 1832. Your system of elementary education did not commence till nearly half a century later and you are still busy in expanding and improving education, but that has not prevented you from expanding the representation of the people." At any rate, if there was any seriousness about the announcement made in Parliament on August 20th 1917, as I think there was, the argument of the ignorance of the masses should then have been carefully weighed. I do not wish to minimise the importance of it, but at the same time I maintain that the education of the masses and constitutional development must go hand in hand.

(2) It is next urged that India is a country of important minorities and sometimes we are told of warring minorities. I am prepared to admit that in any scheme of responsible Government which may be evolved, it is of the most vital importance that the political, civil and religious rights and interests of the minorities should be adequately and most scrupulously protected. It will do no good to ignore or minimise the problem. Let us face the situation boldly, courageously, and yet hopefully.

So far as the depressed classes and what are called the untouchables are concerned, our sympathies are unreservedly with them and I do maintain that if our passion for political freedom and democratic government is real we have got to modify our old world notions of social relations. Either you value those traditional social distinctions or you value the political institution you are aspiring after. If you value the latter then you have to alter radically your old outlook.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM.

(3) Similarly, in dealing with the Hindu-Mohamedan problem, I would make an earnest appeal to all concerned, to consider whether the cherished idea of responsible government does not imperatively demand that we must make unaccustomed sacrifices on both sides and part with prejudices and narrow sectarianism. This, let it be admitted, is a most serious comment upon our entire political life and go wherever you may outside India, this is the one question which is put to you by every one, friend and foe alike. If hitherto Hindu-Mohamedan unity has lacked strength or durability, it has been mainly due to the fact that we have not adopted the true basis of unity. This can only be the recognition by the two communities that India is the common country of both, that the claim

of India on the service and loyalty of both are paramount, and that political freedom and political rights are by no means inconsistent with the exercise of religious rights and ceremonies by each community with the fullest possible freedom. I do not wish to go into the details of the solution of this problem. I wish merely to state the problem as it strikes me. There is, first of all, the question of representation on municipal, local and parliamentary bodies. This again resolves itself into questions—(1) What is the adequate representation to which the Mohamedans are entitled? (2) What is the best method of representation? Nearly seven years ago when the Mohamedans of my province wanted separate representation in municipalities, I supported them, not because I thought that it was politically sound but because it seemed to me that that was the only condition on which they were prepared to co-operate with the other communities. Even after this distance of time, I do not regret my action. Separate electorates appear however to have brought in their train a mass of evil. But unless and until the Mohamedans themselves change their attitude, I think we should do nothing to take away from them this method of representation, to which they rightly or wrongly attach so much importance. As to the amount of representation I should have thought that the question had been solved by mutual agreement. But if that is not so, why should it be impossible to solve it now? A little exercise of patience and forbearance on both sides and an earnest desire to understand each other, should bring us nearer the solution, than anything else, and I think this duty rests heavily on leaders of all sections of politicians, who believe in the destiny of India that they should at a joint conference fairly and frankly discuss this question and arrive at some solution.

MINORITIES AND THE SERVICES.

The next question is the question of the representation of the minorities in the public services. Much as I deprecate recruitment to public services based on communal grounds, I recognise that in the present circumstances of India it is inevitable. I personally think that the best solution of it lies in the appointment of a Public Services Commission, on which Hindus, Mohamedans and Europeans should all alike be represented and the work of recruitment should be left to it. Excepting in regard to certain appointments of a political character, which should in my opinion be left in the hands of Ministers, I believe that we should meet the situation much better, if we were to transfer all such power from the hands of Ministers or the Executive Government to an independent body, like the Public Services Commission, which must see also to the adequate representation of each community.

Religious Disputes.

As regards religious disputes in which the ignorant masses get at times involved, it is certainly the duty of the leaders to do nothing

or say nothing, which may inflame sectarian passions. But that alone is not sufficient. With the fullest exercise of religious freedom there must be the understanding that each party has got to respect the susceptibilities of the other. Moral injunctions alone will not solve the problem, conscious effort is even more necessary, and it seems to me that in your Constitution of the future the amplest safeguards for these rights and privileges should be expressly provided for. Necessarily, you will have to depend upon the growth of sound public opinion to support your effort. But the problem cannot be solved except by facing it. A heavy responsibility in this connection lies on the press and with its growing power in the country I think it can be a potent factor in dealing with this problem. The recent disturbances in India have been advertised a good deal in England and the impression produced naturally is one, which is not very hopeful for the future. But I do maintain that so far as this question is concerned, we should take the responsibility for the solution of it on ourselves, and if the leaders of both communities, to whom Indian unity and Indian self-government are such sacred words, make a determined effort to restore happier relations and to arrive at a settlement, which will be acceptable to the vast majority of both, I think the problem may yet be solved.

BRITISH INTERESTS AND IMPERIAL SERVICES.

We shall probably make our task much easier if we also recognise that there are certain vital British interests in India and that unless and until those interests are safeguarded, we shall have to meet with no little difficulty in our attempt at achieving self-government. Similarly, in regard to the Imperial Services, which are predominantly European in their composition, we shall have to define our attitude. I do not wish to go into the details of this question for more reasons than one. But I venture to make a few observations. The Services do no good to themselves or to this country by impugning the good faith of Indian politicians, nor is it right or just for us to indulge in wholesale condemnation of the Services. Any unjust or unfair criticism of the Services must be deprecated. At the same time it must be borne in mind that hitherto the Services have occupied a peculiar position. It does not correspond to that of the public services in England or the Dominions. They have been to a large extent responsible for the formulating of policy in India, and if in the future their position is approximated to that of the permanent services elsewhere, I have no doubt that much of the criticism which is levelled at them, will be diverted to the responsible Minister. Indeed, the recent elections show that much unkind language has been used by our countrymen towards our own Ministers and other Indians associated with the Government than towards members of the permanent services. We hear much of cases, in which officers come into conflict with public opinion. I wish we heard as much of cases in which officers are held in esteem by the public, for I refuse

to believe that there are no good men among them or that all appreciation of their work is extinct among Indians. So far as the question of salaries and emoluments is concerned, if there are any legitimate grievances, by all means let them be examined and redress given where it is due, subject only to the financial capacity of India. But the essential question to my mind is the question of the venue of recruitment. Why should the decision of self-governing India, unless it is a thing of the distant future, be anticipated now? In any case, it seems to me that many of those who are already in the services, will be here for at least another 25 years; but the longer you continue recruitment in England the longer you postpone the day when the services will be Indianised.

NECESSITY FOR A COMMISSION

Gentlemen, I have placed these views before you in the broadest possible manner without going into minute details and all that I ask you to do on the present occasion is to give your careful consideration to your future policy and future programme. If you want constitutional progress, you must set to work for it. That work does not and should not consist merely in passing resolutions or making speeches. You have got seriously to educate public opinion in favour of your policy and to acquire support for your views; for unless this is done, the forces of opposition against you will be strong indeed, far stronger than you imagine. Do not reject my suggestion about the early appointment of a commission, merely because commissions and committees are supposed to be a method of shelving pressing problems. If that were my conviction and belief, I should not have brought this suggestion before you. But I do believe that before any constitutional advance takes place, the whole position will require very careful examination; so many interests have to be reconciled, so many different points of view have got to be borne in mind, so much readjustment of the system of Government will be necessary, that I cannot imagine that merely because you express the wish for the establishment of Swaraj, it will be an accomplished fact. A commission is the very thing contemplated for such progress by the present Government of India Act and even if it were not so, further constitutional development would in any case have involved the bringing into existence of an agency for it giving effect to it. Once a commission is appointed you can put forward before it your own views on the future of the Constitution and put all the pressure that you are capable of on the Government here, the Parliament in England, to give effect to your views. That is the only constitutional method which to my mind seems likely to yield any satisfactory results. Constitutions are not easy to make as it is sometimes imagined, and it is for you to prepare the ground by taking the necessary steps.

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Above everything else, it is necessary that you should define

your own position and organise your forces. So far as your position is concerned I have no doubt as to what it should be. The Liberal party cannot be an asylum, either for Tories or for revolutionaries. Liberalism is not merely a mode of expression but a habit of thought and action. Our watchword should always be Progress, and continuous Progress. Our methods should also be clear and well-defined. While we should resist to the utmost of our power and capacity anything which is calculated to retard our progress, I do not think that we can seriously contemplate the adoption of a calculated policy of obstruction, which so far from helping our progress may seriously hinder it. Again it seems to me that if the Liberal party is to extend its influence, casual and unorganised activity is not enough; its work must be continuous and incessant. I admit that our detractors have poisoned the public mind against us, but that ought not to deter us from approaching the public and putting up with the rough and tumble of public life. We must have a strong Central Executive and we must try to establish living and serious-minded associations all over the country, wherever we can. Not only must we do this but we must strengthen our own press and, wherever it may be necessary, establish new organs. We shall no doubt meet with difficulties for some time, but I have not lost all faith in the shrewd common-sense of the people. It may be clouded for some time but it cannot be for all time. It is by persistence alone that we can conquer those forces of opposition which have accounted for our defeat and disappointment at the last election. I do not sympathise with those who find solace merely in the thought that they might have done better if only their opponents had indulged in less misrepresentation of their views and position. We must frankly admit that much of our present position is due to the weakness of our organisation, the want of party discipline and above all, our omission to organise an adequate party fund. For, I think, that if we are to survive as a party it is necessary that we should have funds and ample funds. I know the difficulties in the way but I also know that we have to fight those difficulties and overcome them.

ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND

In order to advance our scheme it may be necessary, indeed I think it will be necessary for us, not only to send a strong representative deputation to England but to establish an independent and active organisation of our own there, for the dissemination of our views and correct information in England. Be it said to the credit of Mrs. Besant that hers is the only organisation there that does something for India in the way of propaganda. It is all very well for our countrymen to say that we can afford to ignore English opinion, but do not forget that we have no real living organisation of our own there. Those who are opposed to any further progress, and who regret even the present measure of reforms, have got powerful organisations, supported by plenty of

funds and led by some retired Governors and officials, who still think and talk as if India stood where it did in their time. The English nation is essentially conservative and fights shy of change. Its conservatism is all the greater in the case of India, which it has been accustomed to treat as a country full of ignorant people, hopelessly divided among themselves and flying at each other's throats and kept together only by the controlling hand of its representatives here. I do not blame people in England to attach weight to the uncontradicted statements of some of those who claim knowledge and experience of India. Besides, let us not forget that the impression which some happenings in this country have produced has been most unfavourable to us and yet my experience during the last few months was distinctly hopeful, for, while on the one hand there is a section of die-hards who will continue to oppose our aspirations for as long as they can, on the other there are men of broad sympathies and large outlook but little knowledge who, if properly approached will be willing to help us. Such help I would not discard or despise. I would avail myself of every such source from which we can gather strength and support. I believe we can do much useful work by sending a strong, well-informed and capable deputation to England. Our work in India must go on simultaneously, if we wish to push the cause to a successful issue.

TRADITION OF MEHTA AND GOKHALE.

I, therefore, think that if this meeting of the Liberal Federation succeeds in nothing more than in devising means to organise the party and in adopting a definite line of policy, we shall not have met in vain. If we fail in that, I for one must view the future of our party with the gloomiest of forebodings. But I have still hope that the traditions of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale are not dead among us. Howsoever unworthy we may be as their successors, let us make an honest attempt to live up to their ideals and seek inspiration from what they said or did in their day. Eighteen years ago, it was left to Gopal Krishna Gokhale to give a definite shape to our ideal in his great speech at Benares. Since then that ideal has ceased to be a far off adorable dream. It has become now a living passion with us. To be in our own country what other subjects of our common Sovereign are in the self-governing Dominions is no longer a dream which we would leave it to posterity to realise. Our difficulties may be great, they are great, but they have to be conquered and must be conquered. I venture to think that, if we approach these big problems in the practical spirit of those great and hallowed names and with their robust faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause, if we only realise that constitutionally our position is much stronger than it was in their days, then I have every confidence that we shall succeed in building the edifice of Self-Government within the Empire the foundations of which were laid by them.

Temporary defeat ought not to damp our spirits. On the contrary it should act as an incentive to more active, more persistent and more substantial work. I yet believe that the Liberal party, if only it can re-organise itself, will play a great part in the development of the Constitution and though temporarily Liberals may have received a set-back, Liberalism will still be the rallying cry of all those elements in the country which recognise the value of constitutional work and which believe in the efficacy of constitutional methods.

Second Day's Sitting.

27TH DECEMBER 1923.

The second day's proceedings of the Liberal Federation commenced on 27 December at mid-day, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding. After the singing of the "Bande Mataram" song, the President moved from the chair the condolence resolution referring to the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Messrs. Gupta, Kasturiranga Iyengar and Ashwini Kumar Dutta. The resolution was carried, all those present standing.

II. On Demand for Self-Government.

The next resolution about the demand for Self-Government was moved by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in a very impressive speech. The resolution ran as follows :

"Having in view the many inconveniences and anomalies which have been felt in the practical administration under a system of Diarchy in the Provinces and the incongruity and difficulty in practice of an irresponsible Central Government controlling and superintending the administration of Transferred Departments by Ministers responsible to the Local Legislatures, having also in mind the difficulties of the Central Government having no majority of its own in a Legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people, and having further in mind the immediate necessity of releasing the Government of India and the Local Governments from the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and the proved inability of the Government of India not yet fully responsible to the people to protect the interests of Indians settled in Self-Governing Dominions and Crown Colonies : this meeting of the All-India Liberals, concurring with the previous meetings thereof, is emphatically of opinion that full responsible Government in the Provinces and complete responsibility in the Central Government, except in the Military, Political and Foreign Departments, should be established without delay, and, for this purpose urges the immediate appointment of a Commission similar to that provided for in the

Government of India Act of 1919 for making a full enquiry into the actual working of the present Constitution and making recommendations in respect of future constitutional advance."

The Rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri in proposing the resolution on further reforms explained how certain recent happenings had made him a reluctant convert to this resolution, his opinion about two years ago being a little more backward than at present. There were two considerations put forward in the resolution for their demand of full responsible government in the provinces. He was not prepared to say that diarchy had absolutely failed, for the system could be made to work in the hands of sensible people like Dr. Paranjpye. Diarchy, however, was attended with great inconveniences in daily administration. It was almost a source of intolerable friction. Ministers had complained in matters of finance and the non-amenability of officials to their discipline. Referring his hearers to the facts published in connection with the regulations of Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narain of their offices as Ministers in the United Provinces, the speaker said that it proved conclusively that if it displeased the head of the administration he could intrigue with officers of the department to make the position of Ministers intolerable. The speaker also related a case in a province which he did not name where a gardener who was willing to retire on gratuity and was persuaded to do so by the Minister at a time of financial stringency was surprised with the news of his reinstallation by the Secretary of State as the authority who had been responsible for his original appointment and therefore outside the pale of the Minister. That kind of thing ought not to be allowed in any service even in the Indian Civil Service. What happened in the case of the gardener showed the extent to which an arbitrary Secretary of State whom we could not hold responsible would go in the exercise of his powers that remained in his hands.

THE WHITE-HALL OCTOPUS.

Then, referring to the Central Government with no sort of responsibility, full or limited, to the elected representatives of the people, Mr. Sastri said that the arguments we employed were rather on behalf of Government than on our own behalf, for arguments on our own behalf were well-known. The Government of India could not do anything unless they intrigued with one or the other group in the legislature whose antagonism they knew nothing about and whom they tried to impress into their following at a given moment. That left the Government of India weak, undetermined, feeble and unable to take a definite stand with regard to any policy. Then the Government of India were fettered in their exercise of discretion and judgment by the control of the Secretary of State. We wanted the Government of India and local Governments really to be strong and independent Governments looking to the wishes of the people and where they were willing to carry out the wishes of the people and abate

to do so. Unfortunately the Government of India in more than one instance within recent days had been in a position of agreement with the wishes of the people but they could not do anything because the Secretary of State was against them. That consideration went to the very root of the case and it seemed to him that that part of their demand invested the resolution with importance almost transcending the importance of anything else. We could not have a Government of India which did not always look to us but to outside the country for inspiration of their policy. The Joint Select Committee enunciated as an ordinary principle of administration, as a rule, that where the Government found themselves in agreement with the legislatures on any subject the Secretary of State was enjoined not to interfere but to let the measure take full effect. That great principle, if maintained in its integrity, would really have deprived much of our argument of a good deal of its force, but the principle was not observed. The principle had been brought to nullity by the constant habit which the Secretary of State had fallen into of giving orders to the Government of India beforehand thus tying up their spontaneous judgment and by the habit of the Government of India of referring important matters to the Secretary of State so that the legislature was forbidden to say 'this is the spontaneous opinion of the Government.' The Government of India of to-day was government 'by cables between the Viceroy acting singly and the Secretary of State, perhaps also acting singly, and even the members of the Executive Council did not know what passed between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State behind. With frequent secret cables in opposition to the wishes of the people, sometimes in opposition to the traditions of the peoples and the country, how intolerable was the position of the Government and of the legislatures!

GOVT'S INABILITY TO PROTECT INDIAN INTERESTS ABROAD.

Referring to the last topic, viz, the inability of the Government of India to protect our interests when we settle abroad, Mr Sastri said that like the President in the chair he admired and expressed India's gratitude to the Government of India for the valiant way in which they had pressed our case to the Dominion authorities and the Central Government of the Empire. But had that availed? The Government of 300 millions of people wielding vast powers over the life and resources of a continent had to yield before a body of rebellious white subjects in a remote little colony of the Empire. He did not know how the Government of India felt over it. But he spoke for a great many of them in the hall and a great many outside when he said that it was a humiliation that their Government should be as nothing in the Councils of the Empire. What was the remedy? The remedy was to put our Government in the same position and authority as the Government of Australia and of Canada occupied. Make and enable the Indian Government to speak for the people and

on behalf of the people as their mouth-piece to outside agencies. The Government of India should not be allowed to talk to us as the mouth-piece of an outside authority as they sometimes did and as the Viceroy did the other day saying that the people in England did not tolerate our getting more self-government or to that effect. When the people of India were at grips with the people of the Dominions we wanted our Government to stand up for us and speak freely and unreservedly. This the Government could not do. But when they did to a certain extent the Secretary of State shut them up. But we could not let them be shut up. We had to go on with the Government of India behind us.

The Government of India thought that we were injured and yet it was a pity that they could not back us. The Viceroy with profound sympathy for us, with every desire to back us, could only back to a certain extent and not further. That was a defect of the constitution and it should be rectified.

Then with reference to methods with which we would seek to attain that, he said it was a very reasonable request to make. We were convinced, however, that there would be a great deal of opposition. Therefore the demand we put forward must be backed and supported not merely by the voice of the Liberal Federation, not merely by the voice of the Indian National Congress which stood outside the constitution of India and therefore handicapped to speak to a constitutional body in a constitutional way—it was not merely the voice of this party or that party that would carry it.

A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Therefore some of the Liberals had thought a plan which in their judgment would be supplementary to the Federation. It was a National Convention which should arise out of that house and out of the non-official part of the legislatures, whether with the sanction of the various Governments if we could obtain it, or without it if it was not forthcoming. The electorates under the constitution of India should have it in their power to tell their representatives in the various legislatures to go ahead in their name and appoint a National Convention for framing the outlines of a constitution and present it to the people of England in the name of the electors of India. There was no antagonism between this plan and another plan. He said it in particular because there were he knew a great many outside that assembly and a great many among the Swarajists who had pledged themselves to work for Dominion status for India by means of a National Convention with the support of a great many not only from the Liberal Federation but of all those who had been to the Delhi National Convention. Based on the general wish of the electors of the country, he felt that the demand for Dominion status was a demand which even the diehards in Whitehall would find it difficult to set aside. (Cheers).

DR. PARANJPYE'S SUPPORT.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona) seconded the resolution and speaking as an ex-Minister said in reference to diarchy that his experience of the Bombay Council showed that the position of Ministers was not as strong as was required for an efficient working of diarchy in this province and they had no settled majority at the back of the Ministers. Their Council was divided into a large number of groups which could be manipulated very often in various ways so that Ministers had to use a good deal of tact in order to carry on their departments. Again in this province the Ministers had not worked jointly. It was intended by the Act that they should act jointly. Although there was the principle of diarchy in theory the administration was to be conducted as a unitary Government, yet in this province there was no pretence of the working of our Government as a unitary Government. The spirit which lay at the root of the new Government of India Act, that the whole Government was practically to be a unitary Government was not followed. That, however, did not prevent people from laying on the heads of Ministers the sins of omission and commission of the Government as a whole. The Act laid down that the Governor could administer a diarchical form of government in its legal and technical sense and not at all in the spirit. Some of the difficulties were inherent in the constitution and they should be remedied soon before they came to a head and before the position became absolutely impossible. That could be done by giving complete provincial autonomy. If all departments of Government were transferred to Ministers—Land Revenue, Law and Police departments in which members of the Legislative Council and the public were keenly interested—he thought there would be very much less trouble in the country. Any change in the Government of India could be brought about by legislation in Parliament. Seeing the difficulties he mentioned and seeing the fast advance of public opinion in the country in the direction of demand for further constitutional reforms it was better, he said, to take time by the forelock and appoint a statutory commission and get to work six years before the appointed time.

MR. S. M. CHITNAVIS supporting the motion said that his experiences were more or less of the same kind as those of Dr. Paranjpye, but he would not say much as he was not free from official trammels. He admitted diarchy was bad in principle. Though in C. P. Ministers were consulted and their advice was sought they had no vote and the advice might be discarded, while on any questions which came up in the Council they were bound to vote on the side of Government. They had worked the reforms for what they were worth and found several defects which must be removed. The work of the legislatures had been satisfactory as has been expressed by the Viceroy downwards and the time had arrived when no further time should be lost in making all departments transferred

and doing away with diarchy altogether. Land Revenue, Forest, Law and Justice could be worked just as satisfactorily as the transferred departments.

The resolution was further supported by Rao Bahadur Chitale and Mr. A. P. Sen from Lucknow. It was then unanimously carried.

III. On Indians Overseas.

The next resolution about the position of Indians overseas was moved by Mr. B. S. Kamat and ran as follows :

"(1) This meeting of the All-India Liberals places on record its indignation and resentment at the Kenya decision of July last, which, besides being grossly unjust and invidious, violates the most solemn pledges of the Crown and other constituted authorities, and its grim determination, which is likewise the determination of the whole of India, never to accept any settlement which assigns to their countrymen in the Crown Colonies, particularly Kenya, a status in any way inferior to that of other classes of His Majesty's subjects. This meeting of India, in pursuance of the resolution of the last Imperial Conference, will be able to secure for Indians in Kenya, a position in keeping with her recognised status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, besides safeguarding in an effective manner their economic interests.

"(2) This meeting further views with alarm the tendency of the provisions of the Kenya Immigration Bill and requests the Government of India, notwithstanding the unfavourable attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to press upon him the necessity in ordinary good faith of delaying the progress of the Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee above mentioned should have had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with the Colonial Office. This meeting is further of opinion that the Government of India should without delay appoint a strong and representative Committee and send it to England at the earliest possible date to raise the question with regard to the Kenya Immigration Bill with the Colonial Office.

"(3) In view of the fact that the political, civic and economic interests of Indians in South Africa have been for generations without adequate protection, that at the present moment their economic status is further threatened by the imposition of restraints which are humiliating to this country as well as injurious to their interests, and that the position of Indians within the Union of South Africa, excepting Cape Colony, has, during many years, been inconsistent with their status as subjects of a common Sovereign and with the National dignity of India; this meeting of the All-India Liberals strongly urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion whose representative refused, even at the last Imperial Conference, to explore any avenue for the redress of the grievances

of Indians, the great numbers of whom were born in that country and own it as theirs. In particular, this meeting recommends the imposition on non-Indian South African Colonials reciprocal restrictions and disabilities in respect of franchise, both political and municipal, eligibility for the Public Services and the right to hold properties and trade, mining and navigation licenses.

(4) This meeting strongly urges (1) an amendment of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act so as to deprive non-Indian South African Colonials in India of the special privileges still accorded to them in criminal trials, and (2) the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on South African coal, taking care, at the same time, by suitable measures to provide adequate facilities to Indian coal in the way of transport and otherwise.

Mr. G. A. Natesan from Madras, in supporting the resolution, made a forceful speech. He referred with indignation to the Winterton-Sastri incident, and said that if India had been a Self-Governing Nation, Lord Winterton would not have dared to insult an illustrious countryman of theirs like the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. After Mr. Joshi had spoken in support in Marathi, the resolution was carried.

Third Day's Sitting.

28TH DECEMBER 1923.

Next day the Federation resumed its sitting at 12 noon with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Chair, and the proceedings opened with the singing of national songs. The following three resolutions were put from the chair and carried:—

IV. On Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

"This meeting of All-India Liberals deplors the delay in carrying into effect a long overdue reform, viz., the separation of judicial and executive functions, and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it."

V. On Labour Representation.

"This meeting of All-India Liberals desires to press on the Government and Liberal organisations the need of encouraging the establishment of Trade Unions in the country and of labour being adequately represented in the Provincial and Central Legislatures by direct election instead of by nomination as at present."

VI. On Repeal of the Princes' Protection Act.

"This Conference urges that the Indian States Act should be

repealed as early as possible as it is opposed to the interests both of British India and of the subjects of Indian States."

VII. On Retrenchment Proposals.

The next resolution relating to retrenchment runs as follows :—

"While taking note of the recommendations of the Inchcape and the various Provincial Retrenchment Committees, this meeting of All-India Liberals calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments concerned to give full effect to them and to lose no time in exploring further avenues of retrenchment."

Mr. C. M. Gandhi in proposing it said that sound finance was a sign of good Government, and if the Government was to be carried on a sound footing and all national buildings were to be properly attended to, the Government should not only effect all possible economies, but try to explore all further avenues of retrenchment.

Referring to the Bombay Council, he said the Government had promised a cut of 60 lakhs and that promise had not been faithfully carried out. At any rate, there were doubts in the minds of some people. No less an authority than the late Governor had assured that the Government had not only carried out that promise but further effected large cuts and reduced expenditure. The Government had been asked publicly to give the figures of retrenchment effected in the several departments just to show whether any economy was effected in the recurring expenditure or only by cutting down items of expenditure for the year. The Director of Information was publicly invited to do so, but up to this time he had not ventured to give them information to satisfy the doubts lingering in the minds of some people. That was why they called upon the Government to effect retrenchment to the extent they had promised in the Council and also carry out all possible retrenchment in the direction suggested by Provincial Retrenchment Committees. If that requisition was not carried out, the new Council would have ample opportunity of enforcing the people's wish on the Government by refusing to agree to an extension of the duration of the Court Fees Act which was to expire in February next if the Government did not accede to their request in the resolution.

Mr. R. R. Javavant of Nagpur seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

VIII. Sex-Disqualification.

Mrs. Ramabaisaheb Ranade moved the following resolution :—

"This meeting of All-India Liberals is of opinion that the time has arrived for the removal of sex-disqualification in regard to the membership of, and franchise for, the Provincial and Central Legislatures."

Mrs. Kashibai Devadhar seconded it in English, and after referring

to the hardships which Western women underwent for attainment of the grant of suffrage, said that the women of Bombay, Madras, and United Provinces should congratulate themselves on their brothers' recognition of their Sisters as being above lunatics and children and the help given them to get over the first rung of the ladder. She then expressed sympathy with those who had not succeeded in securing votes and exhorted them to work with untiring zeal. She expressed the eager desire of her sisters to climb the next rung of the ladder, viz., the getting over of sex-disqualification in connection with the legislatures. It would not do to tell them that they should be content for some time with what they got, for were the men content with the reforms they already got? They might be told that men would represent them in the councils. That might be true, but men would plead only out of imagination. That was women who knew where the shoe pinched.

The resolution was carried with great enthusiasm.

IX. On Protection to National Industries.

Mr. C. S. Deole of Bombay moved :—

"This meeting of All-India Liberals is of opinion that protection to industries of national importance should be given, the period, form, and the degree of protection depending upon the condition and prospects of each industry."

He said that the subject was not foreign to the consideration of the Liberals. Unless industries were developed, there would not be political self-sufficiency. The economic argument in favour of the proposition was that all economists, even ardent free traders, agreed that protection should be given to Indian industries. As regards the period, he would suggest ten years. Referring to the objection raised in some quarters that it would benefit only the rich capitalists but not the poor consumers, he pointed out that protection was being asked for only ten years during the infant stage of the industries.

Mr. H. G. Parkie of Ahmednager, seconding the resolution, laid stress on the duty of the people of wearing Swadeshi cloth and using Swadeshi articles to aid protection. The speaker who always wore khadi was asked by a British officer how it was that he wore khadi and yet he called himself a Liberal (laughter). The speaker replied that the Liberals never condemned khadi. They only condemned the theory that khadi was the only solution for all the existing troubles and the key to Swaraj. It was the Liberals, he asserted, that had started the use of Swadeshi.

The motion was carried.

X. On Military Training.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye moved the following resolution :—

"(1) This meeting of the All-India Liberals is emphatically of opinion

opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take steps for a more rapid training of Indian officers in all arms of the Army, including the air force, so that the Army may truly be Indianised at an early date.

"(2) This meeting of the All-India Liberals considers that, with a view to expedite the Indianisation of the Army and in the interests of national economy, a substantial reduction in military expenditure, accompanied with a reduction of British troops now used for internal security purposes, should be effected as soon as possible, and that, in any case, the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee in this behalf be given full effect to as a first step.

"(3) This meeting urges that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay.

"(4) This meeting of the Liberal Federation is further of opinion that Indian youngmen reading in Universities or Colleges should be made to undergo some military training and discipline.

"(5) This meeting of All-India Liberals further urges that no distinction should be made in the status of officers of Territorial and Auxiliary Forces and in the matter of granting King's Commissions."

Dr. Paranjpye said the resolution was of the utmost importance if the country was to reach the goal, which the Federation and other parties in the country placed before themselves. If we wanted Swaraj or Dominion Self-Government, we must be prepared not only to get it, but to retain it for the future. We could not ask the British to give away all their authority in the country and only do the business of defending our coasts and frontiers. History does not show a single instance of that character. The question of the army was of the utmost importance for the development of our own country. In these days, it was not a case of small standing armies, but it was a case of nations under arms. If we were to meet the competition of the world, every man in the country should be prepared to bear his own burden in the defence of his country. In this question the Government always adopted a reactionary policy. It was only during the last few years that the Government made a small beginning which was in the nature of a mountain labouring and producing a mouse. He referred to the Sandhurst and Dehra Dun institutions and the training given to a very few Indian boys, and said that the whole spirit was entirely different from what we wanted it to be. Our army was not only to be a proper channel for the energies of very rich people but of the middle classes also. The steps taken so far by the Government were extremely disappointing and inadequate. Our public bodies must make a strong effort to get a good move onwards. After pointing to the need for reducing the Military expenditure by the substitution of the Indian element for the British, he went on to urge the necessity of young men in our colleges undergoing military training and discipline, for, he said, they were getting too soft and were unable to face the rough and tumble of the world.

Mr. B. S. Kamat, seconding, quoted facts and figures in support of the mover's statements, and said that it would take half a century or more in the process of Indianisation which the Government initiated now, before the Indianisation of all the 120 units could take place. He next referred to Sir Sivaswamy's agitation in recent years and the disappointing results thereof and the refusal of the Home authorities to take Indians in the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Air Services and observed that the expenditure on the part of these forces stationed in India should be better met from the Imperial Exchequer than from Indian revenues. He declared that there ought to be no differentiation between the Territorials and English Auxiliaries, so far as the service outside the country was concerned, and both should be obliged to go out of India for military service.

Mr. A. P. Sen supported the resolution and said that we could not be self-governing unless we were self-defending. Therefore it was necessary that the Indian nation must have its own army, manned and officered by Indians and in course of time be thoroughly Indian in composition. The next object with which they pressed the resolution was in the interests of economy, for a British soldier cost six times more than the Indian soldier.

The resolution was also supported by Mr. Varma, Lt. Abasahed Khardikar and Mr. T. A. Kulkarni in Marathi and carried.

The following resolutions were then put from the Chair:—

XI. On the Indian Deputation's Work,

"This meeting of All-India Liberals records its sense of high appreciation of the work done under the most discouraging circumstances in connection with the discussions on the Kenya question by the Indian Delegation consisting of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., and Messrs. B. S. Kamat and Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

XII. On Mr. C. F. Andrews.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals places on record its sense of high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indians overseas in general and of the Kenya Indians in particular, especially in connection with the discussions in India and England about the Kenya dispute.

XIII. Appreciation of Sir T. B. Sapru's Services.

Dewan Bahadur Godbole put the following resolution which was carried with acclamation.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I. at the last Imperial Conference to the cause of

Indians Overseas in general and Kenya Indians in particular and notes with satisfaction that the Kenya decision is no longer found to be treated as final and that the committee to be sent by the Government of India will discuss the entire question with the Colonial Office."

The resolution was passed, the Conference then adjourned for lunch.

XIV. Salt-Tax Certification.

When the Conference met after lunch, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale (Satara) moved:—

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals enters its emphatic protest against the certification by His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Finance Bill, 1923, providing for the enhanced salt-tax in the face of the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Assembly to the contrary. In the opinion of this meeting the Bill should not have been certified either on economic or political grounds.

"This meeting is further of opinion that section 67 B of the Government of India Act is wholly inconsistent with any true responsibility of the Legislature, and that even under the constitution as it is, it is necessary that the power of certification vested in the Viceroy should be strictly limited to genuine causes affecting the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof."

He said salt must be as free as the air we breathe and the water we drink. After referring to the history of the certification of the salt-tax, he pointed out how the Viceroy took advantage of the word "interest" in the Act and how they sought in the resolution to get the Act amended so as to get the word "interest" removed as a safeguard against a repetition of the exercise of such power vested in the Viceroy.

[At this stage the President having gone out, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri took the Chair.]

Mr. V. R. Pandit (Nagpur) seconded the resolution and said that the step taken by a Viceroy of Lord Reading's antecedents was neither economically warranted nor politically expedient. Enlarging upon the latter argument he recalled how the Viceroy had repeatedly acknowledged the valuable assistance done to the Government by the Legislatures and yet towards the time of dissolution he gave the certificate, by the certification of the salt-tax, that they did not know the requirements of the Government, that they were a useless body, and with that certificate sent them out to seek election and the result was too well-known. Was it then politically expedient, he asked?

AGITATION IN ENGLAND FUTILE

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said that after our agitation in

India over the certification of salt-tax had failed the matter was taken up in England and debated in Parliament, and most of the agitation in England was due principally to the enterprise of a European gentleman whose name we should remember in this connection. It was Sir Montagu Webb of Karachi. The same fate as was alluded to by Mr. Pandit as having overtaken the members of old Legislatures had overtaken Sir Montagu. The number of Europeans in the non-official world of India daring to identify themselves with the national cause was rapidly diminishing. We should remember him when passing the resolution.

The resolution was passed.

XV. Compulsory Mass Education.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar moved the following resolution :—

“ This Conference is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation-building, more strenuous, more sustained, and more vigorous efforts must be put forth by the people and Government so as to bring sound and suitable education within the reach of the illiterate masses at an early date by means of compulsion, to improve their economic and moral condition by adequate measures, to raise their political status by a broadened franchise, and in the case of the untouchables, to remove untouchability which is a great impediment in the way of national advance, and further calls upon the people to make adequate sacrifices to secure this object in view, and the Government to find more money for the achievement of nation building as quickly as possible.”

He said that so long as we had the misfortune of having in our midst millions of our countrymen who were not sufficiently educated and who did not understand the requirements of national patriotism and the great needs of the country, their chain was bound to have weak links. Unless the basis of our nationality was broadened, our nationality would not be worth maintaining and would not stand the onslaught of the West. The Liberal Federation was pledged to do that.

Mr. M. B. Narathe (Belgaum), G. K. Gadgil (Poona), Mrs. Janakibai Bhat (Poona) and Mr. R. N. Shah (Sholapur) supported the resolution which was carried.

Other Resolutions

The following resolutions were put from the Chair and carried :

XVI. On Change of Creed.

“ The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and of its component organisations is the attainment, by constitutional means, of Swaraj (responsible self-government) and Dominion Status for India at the earliest possible date ”.

XVII. On Mr. Polak.

"This meeting of All-India Liberals places on record its sense of gratitude for the services rendered by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in connection with the discussion in London on the Kenya dispute"

XVIII. Office Bearers.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra as Secretaries for the next year and directs that the All-India Council should be constituted in accordance with the lists to be submitted by the provincial Liberal organisations by the end of January 1924."

XIX. Recruitment to Public Services.

Rao Bahadur Dhoble (Nagpur) moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals is of opinion that the question on which it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy for the future in connection with the public services is the question of the venue of recruitment.

"This meeting is further emphatically of opinion that, in view of the fact that the traditions of administration established in this country by British officers have been in full operation for over half a century at least and that many of the British officers now serving in this country will continue to hold their appointments for nearly another 25 years, it is necessary, both on economic and political grounds, that recruitment in all Public Services should in future ordinarily take place only in India, power being reserved to the Government of India to recruit experts on special terms for limited periods.

"This meeting is further of opinion that the recruiting, appointing and controlling authority in future should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State, and the Public Services Commission should be appointed by the Government of India to discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of public services in India, such function as may be assigned thereto by the rules made by the Government of India.

"That the basic pay of all these services should be on an Indian basis with special allowances to be given to British officers under such condition as may be determined by the Public Services Commission to be appointed hereafter.

"That in regard to any grievances of a financial character or of any other kind this meeting is of opinion that they should be examined and redress given to public servants consistently with the financial capacity of the country to bear any additional financial expenditure provided further that before any steps are taken in this behalf, the Legislative Assembly shall be taken in full confidence by the Government.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to appear before the Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Liberal Federation."

Mr. Dhoble said that if we were to be masters in our own house, if we were to administer our own affairs the present state of our servants being our masters should forthwith cease. It was anomalous that public servants, who were to work in India, to be paid by India, should be controlled by an outside authority.

Rao Bahadur Kale also said that the time had come when the servants who carried on the administration must be made responsible to the Government of India and not to outside authority. The Civil and other Services were regarding themselves as the constituted government of the country and therefore were unwilling to part with the smallest power they had possessed so long. They had to change the angle of their vision. He denied that there was a grain of truth in the fears of the service men as to their future. So long as they were here, the government whoever they might be, would carry out their moral obligations but as regards their future, we must lay down a definite plan.

The resolution was carried.

The following resolutions were also passed.—

XX. Swadeshi.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals strongly urges upon the people of India the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to purchase Indian made goods only, wherever possible."

XXI. Indians in Mauritius.

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals urges the Government of India to enquire into any legislation under contemplation by the Mauritius Government which is understood to prejudicially affect the political representation of Indians settled in Mauritius and to take effective steps to safeguard Indian interests against any impending danger. And if our countrymen there fail to get their grievance redressed this meeting of the All-India Liberals is of opinion that further assisted emigration of Indian labour to that Colony be stopped as soon as possible."

This concluded the resolutions.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in proposing a vote of thanks to the President referred to the charge against the Liberals that they were office-hunters and said he was not sure that taking office was a sin in any code of morals that he knew of. No sense of righteousness would require them to decline office if it came to them in a legiti-

mate way. Their President had held office. Instead of his seeking it, the office sought him, it gave him an opportunity of serving his countrymen. He did not use the office as a means of adding to his income, on the other hand in accepting it he surrendered a large and lucrative practice. He had not clung to it with pertinacity when the country asked him to resign. He resigned not because the official world had lost confidence in him, not because the Viceroy had begun to mistrust him or to disparage his efficiency. Now that he had taken his due place in non-official life, he had lost none of the moral influence he had exercised night and day on the Government of India when he held office. If he was the type of Liberals, why should they be ashamed of Liberalism? 'You know, ladies and gentlemen, how among us' said Mr. Sastri, 'in spite of our protestations to the contrary, in spite of our self-hypnotised exaltation of our character, you know how among us there is a sneaking tendency to look up to those who hold office, to regard a man well who stands well with officials, and to turn our backs upon him when in the country's cause he has given up his position among officials. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is, however, quite of another type.'

Mr. Sastri then related an incident which won his admiration for Dr. Sapru. He recalled the misrepresentations in the British press of his speech in the Council of State in reference to the Indianisation of Services and the antagonism he was faced with in England by the British press and the Service-men who quoted Sir T. B. Sapru against him and they always misquoted in these cases. 'After the ordinary manner of a wise man, who', continued Mr. Sastri, 'having obtained an official preferment wished to keep it up so that it might grow, blossom forth, and fructify for his benefit and the benefit of his children he would have carried it with him and gone well as an eminent person in England. But what did this unpatriotic Liberal do in England? The first thing he did was to disown that quotation and sentiment and say publicly to all concerned and to tell Sir Michael O'Dwyer in particular: 'I am of the same opinion as my friend Mr. Sastri.'

Mr. Sastri then referred to the President's guidance of their deliberations and said that their resolutions did not yield in cogency or patriotic reach, or in accommodation to the needs of practical wisdom, or in respect of any other qualities that might be attached to political organisations and they would not be found inferior to those which, for example, the Indian National Congress was continually passing nowadays from year end to year end. He ventured to assert that they could not have conducted their Federation meeting under better auspices, wiser guidance or manner counsels. He really hoped that the proceedings in future would surpass the proceedings of that day, even as the latter surpassed the proceedings of the previous sessions including the one he had the honour to preside over. When he thanked Dr. Sapru he was voicing the sentiments of the whole Liberal organisation. 'We have entrusted

our future fortunes to his guidance' concluded Mr. Sastri. 'That I would value if I were in your' (Dr. Sapru's) position as a testimony of the very highest significance of the respect and confidence in which we hold you and your character as a public servant.

The President's Concluding Speech

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in winding up the session spoke for exactly an hour, putting a lengthy resolution on the party organisation the work of which was entrusted to a committee consisting of Mr. Sastri, Dr. Sapru, Messrs. Chintamani, Paranjpye, Gokaranath Misra and Chitnavis, which was carried. The resolution is as follows :—

XXII. On Party Organisation.

"Whereas in the opinion of the Federation it is imperatively necessary that effective steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the Liberal Party so as to bring about greater solidarity among its ranks, to extend the scope of its influence and to increase its utility and carry on an effective propaganda for the early attainment of responsible government and the securing of a status for Indians overseas compatible with India's status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth; and whereas it is realised that these objects cannot be achieved without first raising a large Party Fund, secondly, without increasing its membership, thirdly, without adopting a definite programme and policy for work, fourthly, without securing public support for that programme and policy and educating the electorates either by speeches or through the Press, English and Vernacular, or by taking other steps that may be necessary;

This meeting of the All-India Liberals is of opinion that the work of organization should be entrusted to a Committee consisting of—

- 1 Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I. (Chairman)
- 2 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
- 3 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
- 4 Mr. S. M. Chitnavis.
- 5 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; and
- 6 Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra

SECRETARIES.

"This meeting further resolves that the gentlemen named above be asked to form themselves into a Committee with power to co-opt such and so many other members of the Party in India as may seem to them necessary.

"This meeting directs that the above-named gentlemen shall pay visits to important centres in the country to interview members of the Liberal Party, to address meetings and to take all such other steps as may be necessary for the raising of the funds and increasing

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the membership of the Party and securing support for its programme and policy.

"It further directs them to prepare a scheme of work by the members of this Party to be carried on among the electorates, and the people at large.

"It further directs them to consider the advisability of sending a deputation of two or three members to England at such time as may seem to them proper for securing support there to the programme for further constitutional advance.

"And it further authorizes the Committee to take steps for raising Funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the co-operation and support of the English politicians and public men. It further directs this committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May 1924, and in consultation with the Council to arrange for the holding of a Special Session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

"This meeting places a sum of Rs. 10,000/-at the disposal of the Organising Committee to enable it to carry on the work indicated above.

"The Federation further authorizes the Organising Committee to carry on the work of the Council pending its appointment, after which it shall be open to the Council to delegate all or any of its functions to the Organising Committee."

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Dr. Sapru, touching on this resolution, hoped that those of the Liberal party assembled there and many more outside would read in the resolution an earnest of the determination on their part to do all they could to see that they lived.

In winding up the proceedings of the session, the President then referred to the position of the Liberals, and said that their defeat at the elections did not surprise him for, quite apart from the members of their party who were called to office, the rest of them did not organise themselves as they should have done as a party and never put before the public their view of the matters except in one or two papers conducted in English. If their party wished to survive it was absolutely necessary to clearly define their position in regard to the various important political issues in the country. There were among them those who thought the reforms given to the country were in advance of time and they should rest content with them for a time. Fortunately there were very few Liberals of that type. On the other hand there were men who—they were not non-co-operators—would talk, howsoever mildly, in accents of non-co-operators. Speaking for himself he said it would be far more courageous, far more honourable, for individuals and the country that men of that type should have the courage of their conviction and

not talk in the suppressed accents of non-co-operators but in bold language.

LIBERAL PROGRAMME.

A party like that had got to exercise a good deal of self restraint and it necessarily started its career with certain disadvantages. It had nothing speculative or dramatic about it and unless they comprised that element they could not achieve success with lightning speed. And therefore their progress was bound to be slow. They had to decide for themselves whether they were prepared to put a programme before the country which they knew was possible of achievement, for which they could honestly work and fight and which might require the utmost patience, the utmost possible energies, before they could see the fruition of their aims. He certainly preferred the latter course. There might be nothing spectacular or dramatic about it but if there was something genuine about it that element would make up for the deficiencies of spectacular and dramatic elements. At the same time it would be a great mistake to suppose that the programme they had adopted, which had been supported in the last three days, was merely phlegmatic. As Mr. Sastri had pointed out, their resolutions might well compare with those of any progressive party in the country.

CHANGE OF CREED.

Dr. Sapru then referred to the resolutions passed and said that the one relating to the Creed admitted of no doubt that the object of the National Liberal Federation and its component organisations was the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj, responsible self-government or Dominion Status for India, at the earliest possible date. Here again he wanted that they should speak without mental reservation. What they were aiming at was not independence but responsible government within the British Empire. On that let there be no room for doubt.

UNEXPECTED MODERATION.

As regards the resolution asking complete provincial autonomy plus simultaneous changes in the character and composition of government, Dr. Sapru said he was reading the other day certain statements issued by certain ponticians in the country in certain provinces and he was very much struck by the moderation which had already overcome them. Some thought that provincial autonomy was their goal. It was not. Speaking for himself he said he was one of these misguided Liberals who believed that provincial autonomy would be a shadow if it came to them without a simultaneous change in the Central Government.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

Referring to the resolution on Indians Overseas, he said it was

their duty to insist on justice being done to their nationals but they must be prepared for serious disappointment. Whatever they might say or do, their position would only be improved when they were masters in their own house, when they could meet the Dominion Premiers on terms of equality. Some friendly critics pointed out often that he always forgot that. He had never forgotten it. It was always present in his mind. It was the critics that sometimes forgot that they were not a self-governing Dominion and, therefore, he did not use language which could only be used by self-governing Dominions. Speaking of Public Services, he said the only issue of vital importance was the question of the venue of recruitment for the future. They were not going to shut out the English people if they came out here but they might shut out men from South Africa if they came. But that was a different story.

SERVICES' GRIEVANCES.

As to the question of the Services' grievances, he said if there was a case made out for relief to any public servants they would not stand in the way of relief subject only to one condition that the relief which would be given should not cripple their finances and it must be consistent with their financial capacity to bear any further burden.

THE END OF THE SESSION.

After the formal thanks-givings the session then dissolved. On the invitation of Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow, the next session was decided to be held at Lucknow.

THE TENTH SESSION OF THE All-India Christian Conference

BANGALORE—27TH DECEMBER 1923.

The Tenth Session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians was held at Bangalore on the 27th December 1923. Delegates from all parts of India attended Mr J R. Issac, M.B.E., Chairman, Reception Committee, in a short speech, welcomed the delegates and spoke of the services that the Indian Christian community could render to India.

Mr. K. T. Paul, O.B.E., as President, delivered an interesting address dealing at length with the position of the Indian Christian Community and the trend of current Indian Politics, pointing out the peculiarly advantageous position of the Christians to bring about communal unity and making some practical suggestions therefor.

The full text of the address is given below.

The season has again come round when the different Communities and Parties in India take stock of the year's affairs and consider the policy and programme for the future. Among the Communities ours is not one of the largest or the wealthiest. Nor has it that age-long social solidarity which characterises every other Indian Community and gives it its peculiar strength. In spite of these negative conditions we bear, as in an earthen vessel, certain dynamic forces of true progress which invests us with a responsibility of national stewardship. We are so privileged with certain enriching contacts with social and cultural currents outside India, which also constitute a responsibility of distinctive significance. I venture to think that our deliberations on an occasion like this should be from the angle of such responsibility.

UNINTERRUPTED WORK.

In fact, there is no reason for any other line of approach to public affairs in India. Personally I have never yet discovered our 'grievances'. I find that for many centuries the Syrian Christian Community has been protected and even favoured by the Hindu Princes of Travancore and Cochin. Under the Mahratta Princes of Tanjore and Jinji, under the Navaks of Madura, and amid all the turmoil of Anrangazeb's invasions and of the uprising of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Roman Church founded by Francis Xavier continued to thrive, and Robert de Nobili, Beschi and their colleagues

and successors carried on uninterrupted work in the Tamil country.* Frederick Schwartz, the "Father" of the Anglican Church was cherished in 'loco parentis' by the Mahratta Prince of Tanjore, and was in that troublous time the one acceptable ambassador of the British to Tippu Sultan. There is no tradition, to my knowledge of any persecution of Christians, although the age saw persecution of Jains by Hindus and 'vice versa', and also of rival Hindu sects one by another as their fortunes varied.† On the other hand there was undoubtedly every necessary freedom for honourable citizenship and many doors seem to have been open for public service. The point to be realised is that the Princes could not have maintained such a policy of toleration and even protection in opposition to public opinion.

In more recent years, if the profession of Christianity has been again and again a disqualification preventing an Indian from access to opportunities which he deserved by reason of his undoubted qualifications and tested merit, it was because the British Bureaucracy was naturally nervous on the score of religious neutrality. At that time there was no difficulty for the Maharaja of Mysore to appoint an Indian Christian as his Executive Councillor, or for the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin to appoint them to some of the highest offices including in one case the Dewanship itself. It is highly significant that in the new regime ushered in by the Montford Reforms the one Province where an Indian Christian was appointed to be Minister was where the Governor was a non-Christian Indian.

The deeper psychological changes which have come to prevail in the last two or three years seem all to have contributed to a steady improvement of our relationship with all Communities. With the progressive transfer of responsibility to popular control and the consequent increase in the direct effect of the personal equation in many lines, the future has every promise of a fair field for deserving merit. Is it not significant that while the system of Communal Electorate with a separate register has stultified itself in the one Province where it has been tried, Indian Christian contribution and even leadership, such as it is, has been freely and even eagerly accepted by every party in the country?

HEART OF INDIA IS SOUND

The fact is, we have absolutely nothing to fear from our countrymen. The heart of India is sound in its tolerance and nobility. Narayan Vaman Tilak was right in celebrating this in his charming verse:

* In strange contrast with this is the treatment accorded to Zeiganbalg by the Danish authorities and to William Carey by the British authorities.

† The one exception is the tradition of a persecution for a brief period. Travancore Christians by Saiyities under the lead of Manikkavachagar which needs to be verified.

Thrice blessed is thy womb, My Motherland,
 Whence mighty rishis, saints and sages spring !
 A Christian I, yet here none taunteth me,
 Nor buff:eteth with angry questioning.
 I meet and greet them, and with love embrace;
 None saith "Thou dost pollute us by thy sin !"
 My Guru they delight to venerate ;
 They say, "He is our brother and our kin."
 Let no man fancy that I idly prate ;
 Such kindness greets me always everywhere.
 Saith Dasa, O thou peerless Mother mine,
 Thy generous sons thy generous heart declare."*

It behoves us then to turn our attention with earnestness to discern our particular responsibility as Christian citizens of India. After all we have emerged into a stage when there is no longer any question in our own minds as to our responsibility in citizenship ! Till about three or four years ago we openly thought that we should leave aside the practice of active citizenship† as too 'secular' or even questionable, and that we should confine ourselves to 'spiritual' interests and to the practice of domestic and social virtues. Happily that is past, for reasons it is needless to mention now ; but we have yet to realize the precise demands of Christian citizenship. We have come to accept citizenship as our legitimate sphere. We have to learn that Christian citizenship is our inalienable responsibility, more especially in front of the enormous needs of India, and in view of the formative period of our Democracy.

CITIZENSHIP

For in certainty all citizenship is not Christian; any more than all statesmanship, East or West, is Christian. This is implicitly admitted in the statement one often hears in Christian circles that some of 'the gigantic evils, like the Hindu-Moslem antipathy, which are running India, cannot be remedied until India accepts Christianity.' But the precise significance of this thesis is not always realised. Europe professes the religion of Christianity from Constantinople to Limerick : but that has not saved her from the World War, or from the worse conditions prevailing since the War, in the Balkans, in Russia, in Mid Europe, in Italy, in France, in Britain or in Ireland ! If all India professed Christianity she will not necessarily be Christian in her citizenship any more than is Europe to-day. That a so-called 'Christian Community' begins the exercise of citizenship is no guarantee that it will be exercised in Christian quality. The onus on us is to apply the principles of Jesus to the problems of Citizenship as we face them for the purpose of a practical discharge of our responsibility.

* Quoted by Rev. J. C. Winslow in his "Narayan Vaman Tilak," p. 58.

† Unfortunately branded as 'politics.'

It is particularly refreshing to realise at this point that our countrymen themselves, Hindus and Mohammedans, are all the time applying to public men and to public affairs the criterion of Christ and His principles. Particularly in the last few years, at the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, this is being openly done to an altogether surprising extent. It may be put down as a fact that this criterion has now come to be tacitly operative in the minds of millions of our people. The question is, are we really convinced that the principles of Jesus can apply to such matters as the Hindu-Moslem antipathy, the working of the reforms, the treatment of Indians abroad? There are many millions of Church-goers in Europe and America who would frankly answer that such an application is not practicable in the present human conditions. Our position as a community in India is such that a conviction on this score is of urgent practical importance. Whatever we may be thinking of our communal interests and material advancement the other communities take us to be committed to the principles of Jesus. What is our own conviction about it? The Churches in Britain and in N. America had just begun to study this question seriously. It is even more urgent that it should be studied in its practical aspects by the Christians in India. If the principles of Jesus are too idealistic to be of practical value in this generation; we ought to warn our countrymen, so that they may not be following a mirage, as they themselves are at the risk of doing now. They would then understand that the Message of the Missionary pertains particularly to the individual soul and its next world interests; and that the ethical implications of the Gospel are of strictly limited scope. To my mind there is no such mirage and there is no limitation whatever in the scope. But no one knew better than Jesus that the world cannot become perfect overnight, by accepting Him and His principles as the supreme criterion for all human affairs. He knew it would first cost Him His own life, and in every generation many more Crosses, before His principles can come to prevail as current coin. I would therefore earnestly urge every Church, every Christian College and every other Christian Organization in the country to make a careful study of this question:—

“Are the principles of Jesus really applicable to the practical problems of Citizenship in India?”

“If so, what are our responsibilities of Citizenship in the town and district, and how are we to discharge them in practical every day activity?”

“What further are our wider responsibilities to India, and to Indians abroad, and how is our contribution to be made thereto?”

THEIR RESPONSIBILITY.

If the Community realized as some of us do the gravity of the situation in India, the tragedy of the terrible drift which has been carrying the whole country to the verge of moral bankruptcy; our spiritual leaders looked up from their limited pre-occupation

and discerned what is actually happening all around them ; ere now there would have been a more thrilling response to the eminently human struggles in India, amid which so palpably the Son of Man is again and again suffering to redeem the race. It is high time our preaching and teaching, our lecturing and study circles, our conversations and vernacular Magazine articles, related to the things that do matter to our countrymen, that do call out heroic sacrifices, that are exploited by the clever crooks, that are the real things which occupy the lives and thought of our people, for better for worse. We are no longer 'isolated' as we deliberately were. But we are still in the margin of the current, in safe little coves where the water is still and the heat is cut off by the overhanging trees. Can there be any doubt that Christ calls us to get out of such pitiful stagnant protection, to plunge into the thick of the surging currents in mid-stream, where He Himself is and suffers and labours, and wants the assistance of those who know Him more fully than the rest? Once more, our place in public life in India is one of Responsibility, an inalienable responsibility, a responsibility specially emphasized by our spiritual heritage, a "Responsibility of Christian Citizenship."

In fact the sooner we get off the stilted pedestal of Rights and begin to climb the rugged steep of Responsibility, the truer will be our perspective of the situation and of the relative values of our various opportunities. In front of the enormous needs of our country and of the gigantic work yet waiting to be done unto her uplift, all talk of the fishes and loaves becomes utterly untenable.

COMMUNAL DISSENSION

First, take the Hindu-Moslem conflict, which is to-day the most tragic factor in our national destiny. Moulana Mohammed Ali was being interviewed at Bombay, soon after his release :

"On the question whether India should declare independence as her goal, the Moulana observed that in the present condition of the country, with Manchester cloth still on our body, with inter-communal dissensions and untouchability still among us, declaration of independence is premature, and to ask for it is to cover our shame with blusters."

A few days later H. E. the Viceroy at the Public Durbar at Lucknow expressed himself in equally strong terms :

"The effect of communal dissension is not confined to the suffering and disaster it produces in the area where it is manifested. Its malign influence has wider import. It stifles all hopes of political progress among the people. It saps the forces of national life, for it tends to deny the existence of a common public weal or of common effort in co-operation for a single purpose."

When these two speak with one voice, it is a testimony of the gravest possible significance. In fact every public man, speaking at every occasion, small or great, has felt it necessary to refer to this

matter in similar terms. There can be no doubt whatever that "unless this matter is effectively solved, our political advance is doomed for ever, our national self-respect blighted, and any cultural distinctiveness that we have as a people, arrested and reckoned with the past."

What is the remedy? Arbitrations and panchayats have been tried, pacts have been attempted, Commissions have sat to investigate.* Lala Lajpat Rai, who has spoken and written again and again on this subject and has himself done little towards healing the wounds, in his Presidential Address at the Punjab Provincial Conference held this month at Jaranwala, goes to the root of the disease. It is after all the communal narrowness as regards the fishes and loaves. With the passing of the Government of India Act many places of power or influence or profit became suddenly available to Indians. For a time the communal jealousy as regards their distribution was kept in check by the powerful influence of Mr. Gandhi, which wielded the communities together in a common enterprise. With his imprisonment, all check was suddenly removed and the feeling broke out with violence and expressed themselves in diverse ways.

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT.

The remedy must first be related to the causes. A lesson may be taken in this connection from the communal conflict in South India. The Brahmans, having got ahead of the rest in English education, for half a century they took for themselves a very much larger share in the distribution of offices than their numbers at all warranted. The 'Non-Brahman movement' arose in consequence and it expressed itself for a time in no measured terms and in no restrained language. It is now becoming more reasonable, but not until justice, or what was deemed by it to be adequate justice, was done and was guaranteed. The Non-Brahman movement is now entering another phase in which the anti-Brahman feeling has not the same place. When the future historian reckons up results, it is not at all unlikely that the Brahmans will be found to have saved up much for themselves in the measure of their forbearance and patience. Moreover, the diverting of their young men into productive occupations is itself an enormous gain.

LOCAL PANCHAYATS.

There can be no abiding solution until every form of injustice is removed, and every cause of supposed injustice adequately cleared away. During the period when the loaves and fishes are balanced up, one of the communities will have to forbear and wait. Even a frank willingness to do so will go far to disarm the conflict. Pacts

*Be it said to the honour of the Congress Party, that of the political and social organizations in the country, it is the only body with faith enough to attempt solutions.

alone will not suffice. There should be local Panchayats permanently constituted to deal with every small situation as it arises, if possible to foresee it ahead, and prevent its happening.

The remedy is really in the psychological situation. I am convinced that in both the communities there are a number of leaders who realize the suicidal risks of the conflicts and deplore them. I cannot see otherwise as being a citizen of Salem. In 1882 there was a terrible out-break in my city, when lives were lost, property ruined, a whole mosque destroyed. The leaders of several Hindu castes were, after summary trials, transported to the Andamans, which, of course, did not help the psychological situation. In three years they were all released by the Privy Council which did not ease the situation either. Nevertheless in ten years it became unthinkable for any such outbreak to happen again in that city.

THE DUTY OF CHRISTIANS.

Our responsibility is right here. We can serve in a ministry of friendship and reconciliation. The two communities are distributed in every town and district where we live. If we can get out of our grooves and lay ourselves out deliberately to form friendships and to promote friendships, every town can accomplish what was done in Salem. We have special advantages for such a service. The standard of private and public probity which our men and women have generally maintained in many places has secured for us a considerable degree of confidence. The progressive ideas which we generally imbibe from our foreign contacts give us a better perspective of public problems. There is also comparatively a larger spread of education among us. Though Provincial or National leadership may still be difficult, local leadership is at our doors. To grasp it for power, we may not: to take it for service and friendship we will be welcomed. But there will also be prices to pay,—time, effort, thought; possible disappointments, even misunderstanding and unpopularity, certainly neglect when the plums and prunes go round. The strictest neutrality will be indispensable, which means that all gain for oneself or for the community cannot be thought of. So also there can be no thought of proselytising. The service should be undertaken as a "Nishkama Karma" and the rewards will be great. Much profit will be conferred and at least as much secured. And above all a timely service will have been rendered in regard to a national calamity.

Service such as this, rules out entirely all possibility of our community entering into the melee as one among the communities in the undignified scramble for the loaves and fishes. We cannot play for our own hand as well as for the others. There can be no confidence maintained, if there is no such abstention. Nor can we then cure the spirit of communal narrowness, which is the root canker at

the vitals of India. We cannot exalt merit, character and efficiency in the services, or insist on probity in public leadership, and at the same time do what is commonly called 'fight for our community.' When the matter is considered twice it will be found reasonable that we have really nothing to fear by following such a course of losing ourselves in the interests of others.

THE "SWARAJYA" MOVEMENT.

Next let us turn our thoughts to the great task of building Swarajya in which our countrymen are so earnestly engaged. All parties are by now absolutely agreed in the realization that it is absolutely indispensable to achieve for our Motherland an adequate political status, as a condition precedent for securing steady development along any line, as also for ensuring that recognition abroad which (to use the happy phraseology of Sir Leslie Wilson immediately on his arrival in Bombay) is due in justice to our national honour. Our forefathers knew better than to make our culture dependent on any political status. The result was a glorious record for some forty centuries. But the times are changed, the standard of values is being perceived everywhere through a refracting lens of political status. It acts in our own consciousness more than we care to acknowledge in our best moments, and it undoubtedly acts on our relationships, within and without. As to what measure of political status is adequate, there is little agreement. There is wide difference of honest opinion even on such fundamental issues as the British connection, its measure or quality. But there is no difference of opinion as to Swarajya, the very word used in approval by His Majesty himself. While, however, we are using an Indian term, we are forced into a struggle that is strangely exotic. For better or for worse, India is committed to experiment on the particular brand of Democracy which is in vogue in the Anglo-Saxon countries and more especially in Britain. It is nowhere admitted that this form will be entirely suitable to the peculiar genius of India, or to her distinctive conditions, human and otherwise. But it is a settled fact that the British method shall be the basis on which we shall start, and then proceed to make adaptations as our genius or conditions dictate. The first triennium is also finished. Certain things seem to be quite clear. The Central Legislature is the arena for high politics: the Provincial Legislature is the field for constructive legislation. But no Province is of a size where the principles determined by the legislature can be adequately carried into effect without depending on the assistance of that centralized expert official machinery, so fatal to the growth of a self-helping, self-expressing, self-directing democracy. If the Province is too big, the village is clearly too small to furnish the resources, human or material, needed for constructive work. It is becoming all the time clearer that the District and the town are the great hope alike of laying the foundations of the well-being of the

whole country, as of training its people in the art of Democracy.* My district of Salem, not one of the largest, has two million people, about two-thirds of the Kingdom of Denmark. In all conscience it is a field large enough for training in democratic responsibility and leadership, so indispensable for building the foundations, and its needs and resources require just the measure such as can be efficiently handled by its own popular representatives.

The more one thinks of it the clearer becomes the conviction that there will be no solution to many of our problems, some of them of the largest magnitude, until the Districts are vested practically with fully autonomous powers. For instance, there can be no real discipline until the people are given the responsibility.† For this even the Province is too large at the present stage: the risks are not too great in regard to the District and the town. I would advocate the speedy transfer of every administrative responsibility, Revenue, Education, Police, Health, Jail, etc. to the Elected Board of the District and the Elected Council of the Town, each with its elected President.‡

Matters: Local and Municipal.

Devolution on such a scale would be an adequate challenge to the most capable men in the country to devote time and energy to re-construction work. We are still in a stage where the Local Board or Municipal Council Member does not know even his budget for the year, and considers that his responsibility consists of a watching brief with reference to the vagaries of his President. He does not yet feel that he has responsibilities to assist the Executive, sharing not only in the deliberations but also in the actual work. For, too many Presidents still take the office for personal prestige, and

*Madras has been this as regards Education.

† The Hindu-Moslem problem cannot make really effective appeal to the practical common sense of both sides until the artificial protection by a third party is removed. Lessons may have to be learnt by bloodshed. But there can be no abiding solution that is not operative from within.

‡ Obviously this idea must be worked out elsewhere. Here the ultimate development might be envisaged in some such outline as this. The Collector (of the I.C.S. cadre) should be the full-time Executive Officer of the District working under the elected President of the District Board. All the expert professional services should be of Provincial cadre, but the Head of Department should be the Recruiting and Training Officer, and not Controller of Officers working in his profession: transfers would be by negotiation. The Judiciary should be entirely independent of District or Provincial Executives, and related direct to the High Court. While the Provincial Executives will have no power of vote on any measures determined by the Local bodies, it will have extensive powers of interference when it is convinced that there is risk of a breach of peace, or that a proposal is seriously out of harmony with its general policy for the whole Province, with such safeguards, provided the District should be entirely responsible for administering itself in accordance with the legislation made by the Province.

imagine that they should model their attitude to the Council or the Board almost in the terms of the Collector who condescends to preside over a public meeting. They have not yet learnt the enormous secret of carrying their Councillors with them in loyal co-operation. The British Administration in India was the most perfect Bureaucracy the world has yet seen, and it was not within human possibility that the art of Democracy could be patterned for the public in its ways. Efficiency and not democracy is its aim, and it is absurd to expect any progress in the truly democratic method so long as the Bureaucratic plant is still effective alongside of the Local Boards with enormously larger and more important work to handle.

Whatever may be the value of these proposals, it will be admitted on all hands that the work for the country has got to be done in the District and the Town. Here, again, is clearly our opportunity. Is it not worthy of all ambition to work toward making one's town and district in every way better than what it was when we came into it? What form can our patriotism take that is really of a more permanent value, than that every man and woman of us should labour and pray to build his own town and district so that all the time the City of God shall be built by ourselves in our ancient land. For this also we have special advantages. Among the Indian communities we are the only ones with some actual experience of the democratic method. In our ecclesiastical organisations we have been participating in a discipline of leadership and loyalty, in debate and in action, precisely such as is demanded for the Local Boards and the Municipal Councils. We are trained to consider membership in Council as a responsibility to co-operate and assist the Executive in constructive ways. We have had all this patterned for us by Anglo-Saxons who are not as a rule afflicted with habits of the Bureaucratic method.

Social Service.

My predecessor in this office last year urged you not to undertake social service. It is a most important advice, as practical as is eminently timely. The whole range of social service is a local affair. In the Western countries numerous voluntary organisations engage in such services. In India we have to begin in a humble way, as our resources of men and money are extremely limited. Here in this city of Bangalore it has been repeatedly shown that with all the best will in the world voluntary work of the sort cannot be sustained for an adequate length of time. It seems to me that, except in large cities, a great deal of what is really social service ought to be undertaken by Local and Municipal Boards with a liberal use of every voluntary assistance that can be mobilised.

For these reasons I venture to recommend that every Indian Christian of education who can at all afford the time (and they a

indeed few who cannot) should seriously consider entering the Local or Municipal Board, not by nomination but with the expressed confidence of the people, and there serve his country in the most constructive way possible. Here again there will be prices to pay and risks, even of character, to be run. But the rewards will be rich and varied if the responsibility be undertaken with a sense of mission and discharged in all Christian patience and forbearance, with every alertness as regards the interests of the poor and the unfortunate and the oppressed.

There is time to point out one more service of national importance which is well within the possibilities of our community. It is in the sphere of Education. Missions have no longer the lion's share in the education of the country: but the community, working in Mission Institutes and others, reckoning both sexes, has a share in the education of the country of which we may well be proud. But we are, I trust, on the threshold of further expansion of education on an enormous scale. To put it on the lowest ground there need be no fear of unemployment to a community whose sons and daughters do not despise the modest emoluments of the Teaching profession. But the opportunity is among the choicest, for contributing to the fundamental needs of India.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

Moreover there is widespread dissatisfaction as regards the educational systems hitherto obtaining in India. Experiments are being attempted in different parts of the country, some of which have a great deal to teach others. The spirit of enterprise has not been wanting among us. Particular mention may be made of the Union College at whose noteworthy success is due to the faith of the men behind it as to the wisdom with which the Syrian Christian Community has responded to their appeal. The experiment at Moga promises to provide for the country the long-desired method of a really satisfactory rural education. Special efforts are being made by the National Christian Council to spread its method over the whole country, and their success will mean a steady output of teachers who could in a generation transform rural education and vitalise the effete life of our peasantry. In female education we still hold the leading position. Thanks to the generosity of our friends in Birmingham, we are securing first-class qualification for a few of those whose merit for leadership was not coupled with the necessary financial resources.

Thus, educational service is in line with our past achievements, present tendencies, and the foreign contacts with which we are uniquely privileged. We need now to become fully conscious of our vantage point and to make the most of it. Public opinion in our community is at present right in its attitude towards teaching as a profession: but it is mainly on the economic ground; we need to reinforce it with a sense of mission. Our leaders need to take a live interest in the educational advance in their District and

Province, capturing every opportunity for continual improvement. Certain Missions are unfortunately showing a readiness to sacrifice educational work too easily when faced with the necessity for retrenchment. In every such case sufficient public opinion must be quickly brought to bear on them to set them right as to the relative value of things. Other Missions are eager to do more or to do better in their educational programme. We should take an intelligent interest in their efforts and give them all the support possible in our power.

PROBLEM OF ADULT EDUCATION.

But more. There is a field in which India is literally awaiting the pioneer: the field of Adult Education. It is now generally recognised that the problem of educating India cannot begin to be solved until the adults are attended to without necessarily the aid of literacy. Certain attempts have also been made by the State and private agencies. To my observation the work cannot be put on an adequate footing and made into a live movement, unless Universities, Teachers' Organizations, and Teachers themselves pioneer in the work. Further details it is not possible to furnish here.*

There is at least one Indian Christian teacher in a Mission High School in the Kanarese country, who, without assistance from any organization, has developed a piece of Adult Education which is now extending all over his district. The Indian Christian teacher viewing his profession as a mission of high patriotism will find in Adult Education a highly favoured opportunity for a very timely service of national importance.

But our vantage point will quickly disappear if we do not strive to be ourselves the best educated community in the country. This is a communal ambition with which no one can possibly quarrel. With the continual activity of 'Mass Movements' the problem becomes all the time more difficult. At the same time some of the oldest Christian communities are still stagnant in this regard. Personally I have the greatest faith in the Moga method. I would commend it to the serious study of every leader of our community. I earnestly trust that its vitalising advantages may, in this very decade, be made available to the community in every Mission in the country. But a conscience is needed on the question of education. We have managed to get up a conscience as regards self-support. But in 'self-support' we do not reckon more than the cost of the pastor and of a little bit of evangelistic work in the neighbourhood, one or two Catechists perhaps, and a few elementary schools which are more or less paying their own way! To my mind

* See 'Adult Education' by K. T. Paul; "India in 1922-23" by L. J. Rushbrook Williams, pp. 246-7.

† The conclusions of the Madras Census Report for 1911-21 on this point are very discouraging; they show that literacy amongst the Christian has decreased in the last decade.

every Pastorate Committee has the moral responsibility to provide or to arrange for educational facilities for its people. Continual effort should be made to arrive at cent per cent. literacy in both sexes, and to assist the young to get every responsible chance for a sound education. I am sure that if this were realized as a moral responsibility, we have enough resources in and around us such as will, in the largest number of cases be adequate for our as yet limited needs.

I have tried to place before you in business-like terms some of the lines in which we, with all our limitations, may practically discharge our responsibility of Christian citizenship. I have deemed it necessary to eschew all passionate peroration, and all reference to high politics to which it specially pertains. I have done so because I am aware that there is considerable diversity of opinion among our leaders on such questions. This Conference as such does not identify itself with any particular school of political thought. It comprehends every one: and if it passes resolution of a highly 'Political' nature, it does so after full consideration of opposing arguments in a friendly and judicious way. My duty, therefore, is not to present to you my personal convictions on any of them, but to indicate some practical lines in which all of us, whether Liberals or Radicals or even Conservatives and even Die-hards, can serve the common Mother we love, in the constraining love of the common Master whom we worship.

If I have recommended apparently humbler walks of service, it is not to discourage any one from serving the country in wider spheres and in positions of extensive influence, or by devoting oneself to what is termed 'direct' religious work. We may well be proud of the record already made by some of our men in the legislatures, and in high administrative charges. Such opportunities are for the few. Whereas the lines I have suggested are a few of those which are available for many thousands of us; and Mother India can ill afford to spare the humblest of our contributions. On the other hand our steady aim should be, to render such service and in such quality that we shall become indispensable to India, whoever comes into power over her affairs, of what race or sect or party soever.

LEADERSHIP NEEDED

We cannot, however, render an adequate standard of service, even in these lines, unless we attend to two or three things pertaining to our community. We cannot pretend to a ministry of friendship unless we continue to purchase the spontaneous confidence of our countrymen by our personal character and public probity. We cannot offer to serve as peace-makers so long as we are ourselves divided in cliques and factions, or castes and sects. We cannot help in a democratic discharge of civil responsibilities if we cannot furnish the leadership necessary to take over the duties which the Missions are now ready to devolve on the Church; if we cannot undergo the

discipline of working with others in our ecclesiastical organisations; if we cannot ourselves follow the leadership of others and loyally carry out the will of an authority regularly constituted on a representative basis. We cannot assist in civil progress unless we are willing to study for it, and then to work for it in unobtrusive positions. We cannot lead in the educational work of the country unless we ourselves are the best educated community and with the most progressive ideas and experiences on the subject. We cannot assist in any social service (purity, temperance, thrift, or anything) unless our own community is all the time carrying within itself a continual process of conscious and active social reform.

One more condition is indispensable to service. We cannot with understanding serve other communities, nor will our service be very long acceptable, unless we ourselves enter into our common heritage of the culture of India. The unfortunate ignorance and even prejudice which darkened our minds in this respect is now largely dispelled. But we have only begun to esteem our inheritance. We have yet to enter into our possession as an inestimable gift of God, wrought through the discipline of many generations of our fathers. We have yet to make it so much a feature of our mental and spiritual fabric that we really begin to understand even our Master and his Message through its distinctive interpretation. We shall then understand much that is winsome in our countrymen, now so lamentably closed to our ken. We shall then see the significance of their deep-seated aspirations, which are mere words and sounds to us now. We shall only then get to their heart and so bind them to our hearts with hoops of steel. There is no other way. I would to God that it will be totally needless for any one to say these things again in five more years.

PATH OF NATIONALISM

This final message brings us to the feet of the Mother. I fully realize the dangers of Nationalism. I repeat with Nurse Cave the sacred words 'Patriotism is not enough!' With that warning clearly in our minds, I invite you to contemplate the infinite significance of all that is connoted by that more sacred entity, India. Let it not stir us to any narrowness or exclusiveness. India herself ever kept an open door with proverbial hospitality and tolerance. Let it rather refresh in us our deep-seated impelling motive of consecration.

In conclusion the President quoted some fine passages from Narayan Vaman Tilak:—

"Bran shall I eat and rags shall I wear for the sake of thy love, my Motherland, and I shall throw in the dust all that passes for glory and happiness.

"Sooner or later my soul must quit this mortal house and go, but has death power to take me away from Thee? Thou knowest he has not. To be born of Thee—how blessed is the privilege. Who is there to rob me of it? Is there any robber so daring?

Time? Death? No, none.

"My body will I sacrifice, my life will I lay down in thy service, my Noble Land. Some will laugh and some will cry at this ecstasy of love. But I heed them not. Born to fulfil my relationship as a son to thee, I will fulfil it, May God help me."

Resolutions.

The following are some of the important resolutions passed by the Conference.

On Kenya Indians.

(a) The All-India Conference of Indian Christians in Conference assembled associates itself with the Government of India and with practically all other public bodies in India emphatically protesting against the decision of His Majesty's Government in regard to the position of Indians in Kenya.

(b) In this connection, the Conference highly appreciates the services of India's representatives at the last Imperial Conference, particularly Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

(c) The Conference records its conviction that the highest interests of the British Commonwealth will not be secured until the principle of equal citizenship is recognised by all its component parts and all hindrances are removed for the exercise of this citizenship by Indians throughout the Empire.

Communal Unity.

(a) The Conference deeply deplores the tragic extent to which communal and sectarian differences have expressed themselves in the recent months, and have become a serious obstacle to any national progress in India.

(b) It urges every Indian Christian to do his utmost in co-operation with Hindus and Moslems to work towards national unity.

(c) It strongly recommends that a conference be arranged of representatives from various communities for the purpose of ascertaining clearly the real difficulties of the different communities and of arriving at solutions that will be permanently effective.

(d) The Executive of the All-India Council of Indian Christians, as representing a minority body which while in full sympathy with the aspiration of the great communities for mutual concord, is itself disinterested, will be prepared, if asked, to take the initiative in regard to such a Conference.

(e) This Conference wishes to point out that any accentuation of the communal spirit among Indian Christians adds to the difficulties of the situation and makes it still harder for them to assist in its solution.

Separate Electorates.

The Conference understand that the method of separate electorates for the Indian Christian community will lead to a very unhealthy growth of sectarian feelings in the Christian community at

self and urges the Indian Christian Associations in the Madras Presidency to take early steps for rectifying the situation. [A committee is appointed to co-operate with them in this matter].

Indians' Rights in U. S. A.

(a) This Conference views with some satisfaction that the recent decision of the Supreme High Court of U. S. A. denying rights of citizenship to domiciled Indians in that country, was not based on any inherent implication of the National Constitution of that country but on Immigration Laws which are comparatively more easily changeable.

(b) This Conference considers that a change in Immigration Laws of America, with a view to remove this disability, is necessary in the interests of International good-will founded on mutual recognition of equality of citizenship.

(c) In the opinion of this Conference the continuance of this disability will affect adversely the works of the Christian Church in their land and particularly that of the American Missions. The Conference therefore urges the National Christian Council to place this matter before the Christian Church in America through the International Missionary Council and various Home Boards, in co-operation with the Executive Committee of this Conference.

Total Prohibition.

(a) In the opinion of this Conference the total prohibition of sale and manufacture of alcoholic liquors and other intoxicating drugs should be the aim of all temperance reformers in this country. It welcomes, however, Local Option Bills passed by some of the Provincial Legislatures as a forward step towards the attainment of this ideal, and trusts that imported foreign spirits will be also speedily brought within the operation of such legislation.

(b) The Conference pledges itself to co-operate with every effort in this regard, and urges the Provincial Indian Christian Associations to do the same.

Other Resolutions.

Of the other resolutions passed, one was on Church Union, other on the disability of Christians in the Mysore State, and two loyalty resolutions.

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF The European Association

CALCUTTA—14TH DECEMBER 1923.

The second annual Conference of all branches of the European Association took place in Calcutta on the 14th December 1923. A number of the larger questions affecting the interests of the European community in India were discussed and important decisions taken. The following is a summary account of the proceedings :—

Mr. H. W Carr, President, presided and the following members representing different branches attended:—Messrs. J. Langford James (vice-president), E. Villiers, M.L.C. (vice-president), Messrs. W. L. Armstrong, H. H. Burn, I. Campbell Forrester, M.L.C.; E. G. Dixon, O.B.E.; F. T. Griffin Chave, J. A. McBean, E. J. Oakley, G. Pilcher, C. O. Remfry, A. C. Wentworth Lewis, J. H. Wiggett, M.B.E. (members of the Council), Colonel Hindmarsh (Eastern Bengal), Dr. W. P. O'Connor (Western Bengal), Messrs. P. Kennedy (North Bihar), J. Addyman, M.L.C. (Bombay), E. Scarth (Darjeeling) and Mr. W. A. Rousseau, H. Brabant Smith (Dooars), H. D. Townshend (Jamshedpur), R. G. M. Bathgate (Manbhum), F. Birlev (Madras), J. Norman Ross (Sylhet), J. G. Ryan (United Provinces), Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon, C.I.E., V.D., M.L.A.; Sir Legie P. Watson (delegates from branches), Lieut.-Colonel J. D. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., (Gen. Sec.); Miss L. I. Lloyd (Asst. General Secretary) and others.

The chief resolution was that of the President calling for an extension of the political activities of the Association throughout the provinces. He propounded a scheme, which the Conference accepted, for an increase in the paid secretariat and for the formation of political committees.

In opening the Conference, Mr. Carr welcomed the delegates and said it was a pleasure to meet so many representative officials from the branches. Telegrams conveying greetings from the Sind and Madras branches were then read.

Annual Conference.

The Chairman next moved the following resolution:—

“ With a view to maintaining close touch between all branches of the Association and of a sisting unity of policy and purpose throughout the community in India, a Conference of Delegates from branches should be held annually during the month of December or January in Calcutta or other centre arranged by the Central Administration.”

Mr. Carr said the genesis of the Conference was last year when the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta had afforded an opportunity of getting together representatives from all over India to discuss matters of interest to the European Association. That preliminary meeting proved of such great value that the Council immediately decided, if possible, to have another Conference this year and to make it a feature of their annual programme. They all felt that if they were to pull their weight out here they must work together. Europeans had large interests which were common to all and within the policy which was set forth in the Association's publication there was plenty of room for individual action and for differences of opinion with regard to provincial matters. Generally speaking, they had so much in common that it was of the utmost value that representatives of the Association should meet once a year to interchange views and to see where they could improve further and assist in maintaining the British character of the administration.

APATHY OF EUROPEANS.

Since the introduction of the Reforms, continued the speaker, the European Association had, through its representatives, a splendid record of good, sound work in the Central and local Councils. But, unfortunately, his experience—and he thought it was the experience of others—was that they had been walking in the wilderness, without any practical support from the people they represented. He hoped the Conference would result in a better feeling between the Association and the people they ought to represent and that it would increase the membership from 7,000 to 70,000. Then he thought they would have a splendid opportunity of taking a fair share in the development of the country on constitutional lines. He did not hesitate to say that the apathy of the European was deplorable. Most Europeans were inclined to say that as their residence in this country was temporary it did not much matter what happened in India after they had gone. He would emphasise the fact that whatever happened in India from now onwards there would always be a European community in India and they were there to make the country a place more fit to live in for those who followed them just as those who had preceded them strove to do. (Applause).

Mr. J. G. Ryan expressed the opinion that it was to the unconvinced that they must address their remarks. He thought that it might come as a revelation to some to learn that there were senior members of our community who seriously advanced the statement that the European in India had no place in politics. When such statements were held to-day by senior men the position was certainly deplorable. He thought the apathy was very much akin to treachery (hear, hear). For the white man in this country to hold seriously that the white man had no place in politics was treachery and nothing else.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

No Amalgamation with other Bodies

Mr. E. G. Dixon moved the second resolution on the agenda to the effect that:—

"This meeting is of opinion, after careful consideration of the proposals put before them, that amalgamation or affiliation with the British Empire Union, or the initiation of a branch of that Union in India, would be unlikely to assist the position of Europeans in this country, whose interests can best be protected by unity amongst themselves, whilst it might tend to render more difficult that co-operation with the people of India which is essential in guiding the destinies of this country as an integral part of the British Empire."

"This meeting thanks the British Empire Union for its proffered assistance, and is of opinion that the problems confronting the Association are so essentially specialised and the funds available so limited that the Association does not consider it feasible to amalgamate or affiliate."

Mr. Dixon said that the resolution spoke for itself. He thought they had to establish themselves before they thought of affiliating with anybody else. Any such affiliation would mean their having to give financial assistance, and that was entirely out of the question. Further, the activities of the British Empire Union in regard to Indians in the Dominions might unduly embarrass the Association.

Mr. W. L. Armstrong (Calcutta) seconded, and after some discussion the resolution was carried unanimously.

Europeans in Distress

Mr. Addyman moved on behalf of the Sind Branch the following resolution:—

"That the Association should lay down a definite policy in regard to rendering financial assistance to Europeans in distress."

Mr. Addyman said that in Bombay they had made attempts to centralise their charitable work within a definite organisation. He felt that the great danger which lay ahead was the gradual withdrawal of Government grants from anything that benefitted the European community and that the time had arrived when they should consider the advisability of building up an organisation which could deal adequately with the poor and the deserving of the community. It had been shown that their countrymen were apathetic towards politics but they had all a tender heart for deserving charities. He felt that to develop a benevolent side of the Association would attract many members.

Mr. E. Scarth said that his branch already took an active interest in benevolent work.

Sir Logie Watson hoped that in time the association would be able to do a lot for the poor of the community. The first

step they should take, he thought, was to put the Association on a sound financial footing. He thought that they should remember their own community first, and since there was a possibility that Government grants to English institutions might be withdrawn, he thought it fit and proper that money now subscribed to Indian institutions should be turned to European needs.

Mr. J. H. Wiggett said that whilst in sympathy with the resolution he thought there was no good in laying down a policy which the state of their finances made it impossible to carry out.

Mr. Ryan feared that they would kill their essential purpose if they ventured beyond what was already in their legitimate scope. He thought they had first to put their own house politically in order.

After further discussion the following amendment was proposed by Mr. Villiers and seconded by Wentworth Lewis, —

"That the European Association cordially approve of and give their full encouragement to any and every effort made by the branches of the Association for the amelioration of Europeans in distress."

This was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Central Administration

Mr. E. J. Oakley and Mr. Armstrong formally moved and seconded the next resolution sent in by the Sindh Branch :

"That the present proportion of branch subscriptions allocated by rules to the central administration is too high and calculated to restrict the branches in the efficient administration of their affairs."

Mr. Addyman in supporting the resolution stated that Bombay had been one of the greatest defaulters in the payment of the central administration's share of their subscriptions. That was because they found themselves forced to maintain a paid Secretary and an office if they were to carry out their work efficiently. The fact that the Central Administration had increased the subscription from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and their share from 2/5ths to 6/10ths had met with strong opposition in Bombay and was definitely responsible for the falling off in the membership.

Mr. J. Norman Ross, Mr. Bathgate, Dr. W. P. O'Connor, Mr. H. Brabant Smith stated that they were prepared to give not only 6/10ths but, if necessary, the whole of their subscriptions to the Central Administration which they felt was the vital part of the organisation.

Mr. Ryan thought the position had not been sufficiently considered and that there were branches which had larger expenditure and had need of more money than others in the mofussil, and his sympathies were therefore with Bombay though, so far as his own Branch was concerned, they were proud and willing to give their 6/10ths. He considered the question should be deferred until they were able to consider their financial position, and find out whether the Centr

Administration could do with a smaller share from Branches.

The Chairman said they were all in sympathy with what the last speaker had said. It was recognised that centres like Bombay, Madras and Cawnpur had work which the smaller centres had not to meet at the present time. He proposed the following amendment :—

“That the Central Administration should consider the financial contributions with a view to facilitating the business of the branches.”

Mr. Addyman accepted the amendment.

Mr. Ryan seconded the amendment, which was carried.

Branch Rules

Mr. Ryan moved the next resolution in a slightly amended form to that appearing in the agenda :—

“That the rules and branch regulations of the Association be so altered as to regulate the free circulation between Branches of correspondence with the Central Administration.

The modified resolution was carried unanimously.

Wrecking the Reforms

Mr. Ryan moved the sixth resolution :—

“The Association should declare its attitude in the event of an attempt on the part of extremists who have entered the Legislative Assembly or Legislative Councils to wreck the Reforms.”

He stated that his real purpose in putting it forward was defeated by the absence from the conference of Sir Henry Stanyon though Sir Logie Watson would prove a worthy successor. The entry of the extremist element into the Councils with the definite policy to wreck the Reforms, let Europeans know exactly where they stood. The representatives of the European community who went to the As-emb'ly and Councils were not the representatives of the European Association as such, though the question of a representative European policy was arousing interest in the community. The European Association was the only aggregation of European opinion which could speak with anything like a voice on the subject and it was necessary for the representative of the European community to consult with the European Association. This was the practice which had been adopted in the United Provinces.

The question had passed beyond their branch and now involved the whole European community of India, and the members who represented the European community in the Legislatures should definitely have a mandate from the Association in regard to their policy. They might say what were they to do if the extremists tried to wreck the Reforms. The extremist might think they were going to do so, but the Viceroy in his speech recently at the Chelmsford Club clearly stated what would happen if they attempted

to do anything so rash. He thought the Association should let the extremists know that they were solidly behind the Viceroy in that opinion. He would like to invite discussion on the subject. His suggestion was that they should make their policy the policy that had been enunciated by the Viceroy.

Mr. J. Campbell Forrester took a more optimistic view of the Association. He did not think Mr. Ryan should be unnecessarily alarmed although he deprecated the tactics of the Swarajists. He did not take that as the voice of the country for a moment.

Mr. Kennedy wished to move a substantive amendment and said that in his part of the country Europeans were very much isolated, but they had a big stake in the country.

Mr. Armstrong said he supported the Reforms purely out of loyalty to the British Constitution. Personally, he was against the Reforms scheme, for it was not his idea of British administration in India. He thought they should have some method of letting India see, and the people at Home see, how they stood, and what happened when Indians got more power in India.

Mr. A. C. Wentworth Lewis seconded the resolution.

The Chairman thought that it would be better to take a vote on the resolution, and, in the light of the speeches that had been made, to formulate a proposition which would be circulated to the branches for consideration.

The resolution as it stood was put to the vote and carried.

Reforms Scheme—Premature Extension Depreciated

Mr. Villiers moved the following resolution on behalf of the Central Administration:—

"This meeting of the Associated Branches of the European Association re-affirms their policy, as outlined in the "Quarterly Review" with the following additions:—

"(a) That the European Association stands for communal representation as the only practical method at present of affording minorities in India opportunity of an effective share in the government of the country;

"(b) That this Association considers it desirable that no extension of the Reforms Scheme should take place prior to the appointment of the Statutory Commission of Revision in 1929."

Mr. Villiers said that there was little to be said on the first part of the resolution. They had some need to fight for British rights in India until such time as Indianisation had been supplemented by something more practical and more in keeping with the British idea from the stand-point of administration and until the Indian had managed to acquire more moral fibre. The European had already held out the hand of friendship to the Anglo-Indian and to the Indian—if he in turn would offer his hand to the European, he knew

there would be a responding hand willing to help. Europeans might hold out their hands for a time, but soon they would start acting. Mr. Villiers urged the tremendous necessity for Europeans in India to realise their common responsibilities and act co-ordinately in a communal capacity just as the Hindu would seek to co-ordinate his work and community. The Reforms were agreed to simply as an experiment laid down on definite lines, agreed to by them and the House of Commons, and nobody who sought to go behind those lines before the period of ten years was over was working in the best interests of India or the community.

Mr. Campbell Forrester, in seconding, said the policy put forward was a policy of common sense, a policy that had been accepted by the British people throughout the world, the policy of give and take, which they learned in the play-ground and took into the Council, and that policy had been adopted by the European Association.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Services

Mr. G. Pilcher, moved the following resolution.—

"This Conference of Branches of the Association considers that it is the duty of the Government to do all that is possible so to popularise the superior Services in India as to attract the right class of British recruit in a proportion requisite to preserve unimpaired the essential British standards of the administration."

Mr. Pilcher emphasised the vital necessity of the European element in the Superior Services in India. He said that it had been thoroughly appreciated by the framers of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament and several clauses had been specially inscribed in the Government of India Act. The necessity of the Services in India was further demonstrated both by the Extremists and the Moderates in their representations over communal feuds. Mr. Pilcher said that what the moderate politician maintained in the interests of the dumb masses was what the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Joint Committees of Parliament maintained, and surely the European Association was entitled to maintain the same without incurring the charge of reactionary feeling or a desire to subvert the Reforms. The difficulty lay in the present discontent of the Services which was such that the European element could not be maintained up to the standard laid down by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The economic conditions were very bad and the uncertainty of their future was having a deplorable effect. Since 1920 the Government of India's policy seemed to have entirely ignored the necessity for supporting the Services, in substantiation of which fact he would quote the O'Donnell Circular. He thought that the attitude that they should take was that the Indian should be definitely told that in this matter of the Services the Indian Government were not their

own masters until 1929. They should say: "We cannot have these matters discussed and the European element must be treated fairly for at least ten years." Mr. Pilcher then went on to give one clear instance of the economic traits that the Services were constantly subjected to regardless of their appeals to the authorities.

In conclusion Mr. Pilcher said that what was wanted in the Services was absolute guarantee for certain indispensable requirements. They must be assured of the safety of their pension.; they must be assured of sufficient pay and allowances to ensure their self-respect and the utility of their work. They must be assured of the chance of travelling periodically to England in the same way as commercial assistants and they must be assured of competent medical assistance for themselves and their family. Other guarantees are necessary but these are primary and indispensable for securing the maintenance in the services of the minimum element which Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford, Parliament, and even the Extremists leaders demand as a guarantee for India's future contentment and progressive development.

Mr. Griffin Chave in seconding the resolution said there was one point he would like to emphasise and that was that they, as an Association should do all they possibly could to insure some protection to the European element in the Services, not only in regard to their pay and tenure of service, but the general conditions of the Service in India. Unless such guarantees were forthcoming the disintegration which they had seen introduced would continue, and it would necessarily follow that they would be unable to command the same standard as they had hitherto been accustomed to.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Extension of Organisation

The Chairman moved :—

"That the time has come when it is essential that the organisation of the Association should be extended with a view to developing and focussing European influence in politics throughout the various Provinces and at Delhi. That in order to fulfil this service in addition to its present activities, the Association requires a paid Secretariat and special political Committees formed from the general membership.

"That the scheme put before the Council and branches, under date the 26th of November, affords a suitable basis for development of the Association and that be brought to the notice of professional, commercial and industrial interests, individual and associated, throughout the provinces, with a view to securing promises of financial support.

"That the full reports as to its reception by the parties referred to be sent to the General Secretary by the 31st January 1924."

The Chairman said that in presenting to them this scheme which

they had asked members to consider before meeting, he had it in his mind that they should first put forward alternative courses for the conference to consider, one being something on the lines laid down and the other on the basis of an anaemic existence. He thought that this meeting here "wished out" the latter alternative. They were not prepared to lead an anaemic existence. As a matter of fact they were able to make the Association thoroughly representative of interests. It had been questioned in many quarters whether there was any advantage in having an all-India organisation. The answer to that was to be found in the fact that they have forced the Government of India to take action in connection with the Racial Distinctions Committee. If they had an all-India organisation with a large membership they could appeal to that authority which was so often overlooked here—that was the House of Commons. With this experiment which they were having out here, they still had the right to go to the House of Commons, and protest if the experiment were not favourable. For that purpose they certainly wanted an all-India organisation. The difficulty, of course, was to awaken the European community to this necessity. But he did feel very strongly that they could so appeal to the reason of Europeans out here that the latter would anyhow pay the small subscription which they were asked in order to allow an organisation to look after their political interests.

THE CHIEF DIFFICULTY.

There was one class of critics they would meet in putting forward this scheme whom they must take serious notice of. He did not refer to those who asked what the Association was doing. That these people could read for themselves in the newspapers, and the Association could not deal with them except by publicity. But there was a class of men—the worker out here—who had a distinct distrust of this Association being too strong. That men said that the Association had wasted their funds, that the Association were a body continually changing in the administration, and not really fit to look after large funds. That was the chief difficulty which the Association was going to face in getting all-India support for any scheme. Of course, the Association could overcome that. Therefore, the Association put up a scheme whereby they did not ask for large funds, but asked various interests to guarantee a recurring expenditure—an expenditure controlled largely by their own representatives—in order to secure an efficient organisation. If they asked for a guarantee from various interests they might get support which they might not get if they asked them to give the Association larger funds. If they could have three clear years with an efficient Secretary in the different provinces and an efficient organisation they would so approach the European community that they would be able to raise funds and have an income which would make them self-supporting.

The scheme before them indicated a big sum but it only meant 5,000 members out of a community of 70,000. If they did get various interests to guarantee them throughout that period he did not believe it was a gamble but a certain thing that they would be able to stand on their own at the end of that period. This scheme was not original. It had been forced on them. It had come up in Council meetings and had been fought out. It was simply the logical sequence of the course they were now pursuing. In putting forward the scheme they had to appeal to the reason of those who had the wherewithal to support them to the extent of more than Rs. 10 a year. Firms and individuals could do it. Two and a half lakhs of rupees among the white population out here could be raised without any undue pressure on the individual. Take the other difficulty which to some critics—their workers—was as to whether the Council or the Committees in the provinces and the branches were adequate to represent European political views. Let them meet these critics over that. When they had to tackle the racial distinctions question the Central Committee found it advisable to ask other bodies to elect members. The Chamber of Commerce helped them with representatives, the Calcutta Trades Association helped them, barristers helped individually. Really they got the leaders, the best experts and the best men in the country to help them in that line. That was a specific case. Here they did not think it would be difficult to try to get standing committees of that nature. He felt that in having standing committees other than the branches they were doing much to meet these critics who had to be met. He trusted that the scheme as it was before the Conference would be acceptable. He would now ask Mr. Langford James to second the resolution.

Mr. Langford James (Vice-President) said he had a reputation—a wrong one—for winning bad cases. But right or wrong, if there was one thing that put the wind up him it was a good case. He hated a good case before the court because one might lose it and he was extremely loth to second this resolution because he thought it was a cast-iron case from every point of view. About two years ago he had reason to know that the view among business men in Calcutta was that they could not touch politics and that they had no money for politics. That view was even put forward by his own brother before he went into the Council. At that time he (the speaker) was working on a small committee with two people (both of them business men) and both extremely shrewd and level-headed men. They sat down and worked out a scheme at that time and put it before the business community in Calcutta and they managed to get out of the business community sums of money that he would never have thought possible for anybody to put down for political propaganda. The real fact was that the business men did not know that they were putting it up for political propaganda. They had infinitely more money than they wanted although they never admitted that. The amount reached at one time something like

one lakh. This was done in connection with the Citizens Protection League—a political movement which had as its object an attempt to get together Indians and Englishmen in a sound political body with political funds. It absolutely failed. The money was in the bank, but, with the most marvellous honesty, they paid it back and he understood that they (the contributors) had paid it over again to the European party in Calcutta to start activity with a party fund. This was absolute common-sense and it had been his view throughout that that was the only way to tackle the proposition.

NEED OF AN ORGANISATION.

His advice was to ask for all the money that they could get and he was perfectly convinced that they must have a political organisation in every part of India. He did not know what was happening in Bombay, but he imagined that sooner or later they must have a political organisation for Europeans with a party fund and the same thing in Madras, Assam and other parts of the country. The thing that appealed to him was this: they had already an existing organisation in the European Association and all that they had to do was to expand and better it. He imagined that the directors' meeting could not get along unless they had the managing agent there to put all the facts and figures before them. No barister would ever get along without a gentleman called a "devil," who puts the facts before him and gets his opinion. He was not suggesting that there was any comparison between managing agents and a "devil" although some people thought there was. But it was essential to the success of any scheme—whether that scheme was run in Calcutta or on its own lines in Bombay—that they must have a fellow to give his whole time to the job—someone like Colonel Crawford to get into the "guts" of things and to put facts before the Council to decide. They could not rely upon a body of amateurs to go into a matter unless they had facts put before them, and he was perfectly convinced, whether the Association took it up or not, they were bound in time to have a strong political organisation. If people had to give money to local organisations, unless there was good reason to the contrary, why not give it to the European Association, because they had the advantage of being united. He appealed to the Association, not only to run this thing but if possible to build up a reserve fund.

They had now got to hang upon 1929. In 1929 the question of the Reforms Scheme would come up for decision. The Act said, "shall revise or restrict or expand." Already Indians all over the country were taking it for granted that the scheme would be expanded and the O'Donnell circular made it pretty clear that Government were taking it for granted that this would be the case in 1929. His view of the ultimate result was as gloomy as any man's possibly could be, and he really thought that unless the non-official European population throughout the country got together

and got into position for 1929 and were able to speak with one voice on this question, which meant life and death to them, the outlook would be serious. He looked on it as an ordinary insurance—to taking shares in the new John Company—because he was perfectly sure that if by any chance India would pull through this experiment of the Reforms the only possible way was by the non-official Europeans throughout the country doing more than their fair share of the government and if India was to be possible for a white man in the future it was absolutely essential that they should have one big body, absolutely united, knowing exactly what it wanted and with the voice of the people behind it.

Mr. Addyman, supporting, said he was in favour of a strong political organisation being built up. Three years ago they had appealed for funds for this purpose in Bombay and had got Rs. 10,000 which was intact and he was certain that this Committee would be prepared to give this amount to the joint funds now proposed. It was only by a strong political organisation that they could maintain their right position in the country.

Mr. Ryan said his Committee were in sympathy with the scheme but wished for further time to examine it. He thought that they had something better than a cast-iron case. It was a wrought-iron case.

The Chairman said that they all thoroughly realised the fact that the scheme wanted considerable attention. The Association found it difficult to take advantage of waves of enthusiasm owing to the fact that it would be inadvisable to arouse racial feeling. It was up to each branch to make it their business personally to canvass some of the leaders of the community so that the scheme could go to the community backed by the signature of these leaders.

A discussion then arose as to the date by which branches should send in a report of their efforts to get the scheme backed by responsible European elements in the province, and February 29th 1924, was finally selected as the suitable date.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Reforms

Mr. Kennedy then put his amendment to resolution No. 6 to the meeting as a substantive resolution to the effect that:—

“The European Association will support the Government of India and the Viceroy in every way it can to carry out the Reforms as long as such carrying out is consistent with the British character of the administration.”

Mr. Ryan seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE Calcutta European Association

CALCUTTA—4TH FEBRUARY 1924.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta European Association was held on the 4th February 1924 at the Dalhousie Institute with Mr. H. W. Carr in the chair.

The proceedings were conducted in a tense atmosphere created by the political murder of a European, named Mr. Day, by a fanatical Bengali youth a few days before, and by the offer made by the Governor, Lord Lytton, to Mr. C. R. Das to form the Ministry in Bengal. Both these were made the subject of a huge outcry against the advent of the Swarajists, and to consolidate the European Community against the trend of extremist politics in India. A resolution moved by Mr. Thorne taking exception to the Association's condemnation of Lord Lytton's policy re the Swarajists was the occasion of a heated debate which finally resulted in Mr. Thorne's motion being defeated by a large majority.

The President's Address

The President Mr. Carr made a lengthy political speech, in the course of which, after referring to the annual report and finances of the Association, he said as follows :—

"The work of the Association has increased very considerably and threatens further increase, demanding extra staff, although the Association is extremely fortunate in the loyal and efficient service it is receiving from its permanent staff.

The year 1922-23 has been one which, I think, has undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Association. Its effective membership, in spite of reductions, has increased and the many questions it has handled have contributed to consolidating our position.

Members have been kept advised by the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* of our various activities, but I will refer to one or two of the questions which have occupied most time.

I think the community may congratulate itself on the placing of the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill on the Statute Book, and also on the success that attended their action with regard to the Rent Act in Calcutta. As a result of a resolution moved by Captain Armitage at the last Annual General Meeting, the question of justice in the Presidency courts was investigated, and direct representations were made to H. E. the Governor of Bengal with regard to the appointment of a new Presidency Magistrate for Calcutta.

The appointment of an experienced officer to this post was cause for satisfaction, and we are glad to know that in accordance with the case put up to H. E. the Viceroy on the subject of delay in the Courts of Justice in India, a Government Committee has been appointed to review the position. (Applause).

The question of social differences in the European community is one which is continually being voiced in the Association, and, during the year, we approached H. E. the Viceroy for the removal of what appeared to us to be unwarranted restrictions against one section of the community regarding their relationship with the Government.

We were fortunate in meeting with a very sympathetic reception, and the restrictions were removed, which we hope will pave the way to breaking down all unnatural barriers between Europeans in this country.

As a consequence of an informal meeting of branch delegates in 1922, an important Conference of the branches was held in Calcutta in December last,* when a frank interchange of views has enabled all of us at the meeting better to understand the problems engaging the attention of the different parts of the country. All present were unanimous as to the necessity for this All-India organisation.

The Association must, however, be strengthened, both by members and by money, and a scheme for the development of the Association is now engaging the earnest attention of the Council and we hope to place it before the public shortly.

POLITICAL ACTION.

It has been said in some quarters that the Association is taking too much interest in politics, but I think if these critics will consider how closely our schools, our hospitals, our churches—in fact our whole social life—have been connected with the Government in the past, they will recognise that if the Association is to perform its duty to the community satisfactorily in these directions in future the prime necessity is to make for itself a position whence it can wield its full political influence.

The advent of the Association into the field of politics, although primarily to safeguard the European community, does not imply any attempt to maintain the status quo; it does not mean the activity of any conservative or reactionary party; it does not mean that Europeans are moving simply and solely to guard their own interests. The adoption of a political career by the Association is for the purpose of maintaining in the legislatures and general corporate life of the citizens of this country a homogeneous element whose influence will always be directed to the maintenance of sound government, which is essential to all who have any stake in the great Indian Empire.

* See before for this Conference, p. 303.

As representatives of the Nation that has made possible the ideal of an United India stretching from Assam to Sind and from Madras to the Himalayan frontiers, and has laid the foundations by the devoted service of its sons through several generations, we have inherited the privilege of a full share in the government of this country. Moreover, our existence in India throws on us the duty, not only of maintaining and furthering the aims of our predecessors, but also of placing our services and influence at the disposal of the Indian Government for the maintenance of LAW and ORDER, and in company with our Indian fellow subjects of trying to overcome the dangers which must attend the present rapid progress of India towards self-government—and whatever any most moderate Swarajist may say, rapid it is, when judged in the light of history. Looking at the present position throughout the country, can anyone question the urgent necessity for us all to accept our political liabilities and exert our whole influence in the interests of stable government? (Hear, hear.)

ORGANISATION NEEDED.

And let no one think of that influence as negligible because of our number; if anyone does, be sure of one thing, it is not our Indian fellow citizens, be they with us or against us. To exercise that influence, however, there is one thing necessary and that is ORGANISATION.

Look at the place the extreme Swarajists and non-co-operators have secured for themselves by just this one all important thing : organisation ; few believe they represent the country ; few believe they represent any relatively large section of the country where their aims are understood, yet organisation has allowed them to bring about a position in the Provincial and Indian legislatures which is threatening to wreck the orderly development of representative government.

When I emphasise the necessity for organisation, I am probably speaking to the already converted, but I hope my remarks may reach a wider audience and perhaps awaken some response in our community which indeed requires to be alert to-day, if the signs of the times are in any way reliable.

In 1917 when a Secretary of State and a Governor-General, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Empire in the Great War, stumped the country with a scheme of Government prepared by theorists ignorant of the greatest factor they were dealing with—local conditions—they were told by those of their own countrymen who knew and loved the country they were spending the chief part of their lives in, that the scheme was impracticable and fraught with danger.

Our Indian friends were generally doubtful of its utility, and the opponents of British administration were in no way pacified

by it. To-day it is clear to all that the Reform Government is in danger, ceasing to function because a section of the country is trying to wreck it, and hopes that the exercise of its political power, backed by non-co-operation, and threats of boycott, and civil disobedience, will force the Imperial Government to make greater concessions.

No Fear From BRITISH Labour

This hope is stronger because the Government has been taken over by the Labour Party, whose Socialistic leanings are expected to be manifested in an immediate surrender to agitation because the agitators adopt Socialistic catchwords. I, for one, do not believe that the Swaraj party have correctly gauged the new Government in this respect, for no section of our race has yielded to "frightfulness" while the Labour party are able to estimate the genuineness of the cry in India for democracy as well as anyone else.

So far as this Association's attitude is concerned, our course appears clear. We must absolutely refuse to consider any advance towards self-government until the completion of the 10 years which was the first of a number of periods stipulated in the Act as being necessary to permit a reliable conclusion to be drawn as to the success of the advancing stages of the experiment in self-government. (Hear, hear).

This clause we always considered a vital part of the experiment, and its importance has been emphasised by the fact that it is only after three years have elapsed since the introduction of the Reformed Government that we are beginning even to get a glimpse as to how the reforms may work.

THE EUROPEAN THREAT

Should any Government in Westminster move in advance of this condition in the Act, it would break faith with those Europeans and Indians who subordinated their own opinions and loyally co-operated to give effect to the experiment, and it is almost inconceivable, in spite of various rumours, that any responsible Government could seriously contemplate such a step.

Should the almost inconceivable happen, then the Government responsible would surely reap the harvest of its action, sooner or later in the contemptuous lack of confidence of all parties in this country, and so far as our community is concerned, such action could only leave us free to reconsider our position and to utilise any means in our power to look after ourselves.

The panic at Home during the past few weeks, caused by the advent of the Labour party to power—a panic childish in the speed with which it has subsided, has not been without its reflex out here, and without wishing to assault you with my views on the subject, I would suggest that we need feel no alarm.

We should continue to watch closely all moves of the present

and any other Government at Westminster and Delhi, but I believe we will do better to judge the Labour party by its actions in office, than by the times of wild views expressed by members of the party during their period of irresponsibility.

INDIA OUTSIDE PARTY POLITICS

The Labour party are as patriotic as any other party, and there is no reason to suspect that in their effort to be just to other peoples, they will be less than true to their own. Moreover, in view of the lack of understanding of local conditions among those in authority, from which the Labour party itself has claimed to suffer so long in the past, I am sanguine that now it is in power, it will not fail to give that full consideration to the men on the spot which other parties have not always accorded.

It should not be too much to hope that India may be left outside party politics, and that under the wise guidance of H. E. Lord Reading we should enjoy continuity of policy from Home, which is essential to the maintenance of stable government in India. (Applause.)

I appeal to all those eligible throughout this land to rally to the ranks of the Association of Europeans animated by friendly feelings for India, and sympathetic towards her desire for self-government, is the best service we can offer the land of our sojourn, and the surest guarantee we can invoke for that orderly development of India which is essential to the welfare, not only of ourselves, but of all our fellow citizens.

I appeal particularly to those in our large cities, where the orderly conditions due to the presence of military, police and public opinion are apt to hide the necessity for combination, which our countrymen and women in the mofussil know from every day experience to be vital.

Let us picture ourselves in the position of those in isolated tea districts, zamindari, mines and works, where the Europeans in the vicinity number but a score or less. Imagine the conditions which obtain when the Government becomes inefficient or when racial feeling rises. If imagination fails, let us ask some of our mofussil friends, and when the answer is given, I cannot believe that any European, whatever his condition, will refuse to stand by the Association whose broad purpose, with all the activities it entails, is the unity of Europeans in India. (Applause)

EUROPEANS MUST TAKE A HAND IN POLITICS

Mr. HARRY HOBBS, seconding the motion, for adoption of the reports and accounts, said that he had in the past subjected the European Association to a little mild criticism, but that evening he was afraid he would have to stand before them in a new role. Mr. Carr had said that the European Association had to organise and make the Government listen to them. But if they did not speak how could the Government hear them? He had likened

the European Association to the motor car of which they had read and which without petrol or oil had run for 40 miles on its reputation. The European Association had run for 40 years on the Ilbert Bill and it had run down-hill. (Laughter.) But the time had now come when the European must take a definite hand in politics. He had received many letters from people wondering what was to come of the present political situation. It was a very alarming or at least a very grave position. They all wanted to live in peace and quietness, and he thought they could claim that very few Europeans in that country had any animosity towards the Indian. (Applause.) The feeling that was said to exist was a manufactured article by a number of Indian politicians who tried to make capital out of it.

SAHIB'S PRESTIGE.

Perhaps one might say that never in the history of the British in India had the prestige of the Government been so low as it had been in the years 1921-22-23. He thought also that one might claim that never had the prestige of the SAHIB stood higher. There could be no doubt that the SAHIB treated his Indian workmen more fairly than any other class. Let them note the number of strikes recently on the Bombay side as compared with the Calcutta side. This was, he felt sure, owing to the more sympathetic manner in which the European treated his workmen.

Dealing with the present position Mr. Hobbs said there was, in his opinion, a great deal of mental malingering going on in the administration of India. But Reforms or no Reforms law and order must be preserved. Crime had to be crushed. It had been said that the Swaraj Party was a barrier between them and the extremists. He would rather say that they were a very inflammable screen. If they judged them by what they said or what they had heard the Swaraj Party was a very grave danger. It was said also that the reason why they (the Swarajists) supported their own movement was that they were afraid of their fellows.

He thought there was a good deal of truth in that. One had to realise that if one started violence one was always liable to suffer most from it oneself. He had been in Johannesburg when a strike was on. In one particular instance everything had been arranged with the workmen when suddenly the extremists rushed in, and turned a peaceful strike into bloody revolution in which about 600 people had been killed, and all the advantages which the men had expected disappeared.

What had happened in South Africa could happen in India, and it was up to them as Europeans to be organised.

APPEAL TO ALL.

Take Mr. C. R. Das and the death of Mr. Day. Had Mr. Das expressed any regret for this horrible crime? The Indian claimed to be the soul of politeness and the essence of courtesy, but Mr. Das, a

the head of his party, had not expressed a word of regret at the murder of one who had been the friend of all Indians whom he had known.

Another point with regard to the European Association was that they as an Association had raised subscriptions for the Indians who had assisted in the arrest of the murder. By a curious mischance, however, no reference had been made to Mr. Ogg who had tackled the fugitive—and that when he knew that his life was in the fugitive's hands. He thought they ought to have expressed their appreciation of Mr. Ogg's action as well as that of Mr. Smith.

Continuing, Mr. Hobbs said he was there that night because he felt the need of a strong European Association, and he felt sure that the Indians looked forward to that just as much as the Europeans.

He therefore appealed to all to join the Association. He had been unsparing in his criticism of all sorts of matters in that city, particularly of what he might term financial corruption. But he believed the more plain talk they had the better. If they were always to have a peaceful meeting no body would come to the next one. (Laughter).

The Report and accounts were then unanimously adopted

Mr. Thorne on his Resolution.

Mr. Thorne then moved the following resolution :—

"That the meeting expresses disapproval of the policy of the Council of the Association as outlined in the communique issued by the Association regarding His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's invitation to Mr. C. R. Das to form a ministry."

NO VOTE OF CENSURE.

Supporting his resolution Mr. Thorne said he would like at the outset to make it perfectly clear that the motion which stood in his name was not in any sense intended to be a vote of censure on their Council. His attitude towards the Council was like a punter who had seen his favourite horse run off the track altogether.

In order that they might fully appreciate his point—and he was rather nervous about it and feared that he would draw upon himself the very able shafts of wit from Mr. Jones and Mr. Langford James—he wanted to carry them back for a little. When the Reforms were first mooted the Association had protested against them with all the power at their command. It was, he admitted, not very much power; it had been described as a kind of quiescent watchfulness. Nevertheless, they had protested as hard as they

could against those Reforms. But when they became an accomplished fact they then decided to give them (the Reforms) their whole unqualified support. He submitted that they were bound by what they had done on that occasion.

Continuing, Mr Thorne said that their Council had decided that it must do something. They thought that the position was a little dangerous and so they had proceeded to issue that communique which they had before them.

*The communique was as follows : **

" In view of the fact that the policy of the European Association includes support for those Indians who are working constructively for the good of India, the intimation that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal had been in communication with the leader of the party which is pledged to destroy the present form of Government, with the object of offering him a position as Minister, called for the earnest attention of the Council. ,

" In some quarters the move has been construed merely as an astute political trick to place Mr. C. R. Das in a false position with his followers ; in others, it was understood to be an honest effort to secure a 'change of heart' in the Swarajist party, and in others again as a weakening in the attitude of Government towards agitators who claim as their friends political prisoners of unquestionably criminal intention. It is the latter view which is chiefly calculated to have a disheartening effect on those who have stood by the constitution since the Reformed Government was instituted.

" After careful consideration the Council are satisfied that the explanation of the incident is to be found in an earnest desire to bring home alike to the electors and the elected a sense of the responsibility that attaches to them at the polls, as well as in a desire to avoid the criticism of insincerity based upon the charge that the party which had apparently won the confidence of the electorate was being ignored.

" With the spirit of such a policy the Council of the Association is naturally in entire sympathy, but the Council does feel most strongly that it is essential that any person invited to take a responsible post in the working of the experiment of Reforms should avow his intention of giving that experiment his loyal support and from this point of view it is impossible to justify the offer made to Mr C. R. Das.

" The Council of the Association believes, however, that the policy accountable for the incident in no way threatens the interests of those who are working constructively for the good of India."

* This is the communique which was broadcasted by the Council of the European Association both in India and England on Lord Lytton offering the formation of the Ministry to Mr. Das.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE TO HOME RULERS.

Mr. Thorne said that just as the President had asked them not to be alarmed by the fact of the Labour Party coming into power, he would ask them to allow the Indian Home rulers the similar attitude which they allowed to their Labour Government at Home. The Home Rule party in India, commonly known as the Swaraj party of Bengal, was controlled and led by Mr. C. R. Das. After the last general election had taken place, Mr. Das who was not then a member of the Council, decided at a meeting to form a Coalition Government of certain Independents, Nationalists and Swarajists, the total combination was at a minimum 71. In other words the party led by Mr. Das was then in an actual majority in the Council.

GOVERNOR'S OFFER TO MR. DAS.

Referring to the invitation accorded to Mr. Das by His Excellency's amazing statesmanlike qualities when he knew that every Hindu constituency in Bengal was open to Mr. Das at any time, he cared to accept it. Mr. Das had two nomination papers duly signed before he went to Cocanada and his party was urging on him all the while to accept the nomination and to stand for the Council. Therefore His Excellency did a statesmanlike act by inviting him as the head of the majority party to come in and form the Government. That took place on the 11th December. On the 16th December, the 'Statesman' came out with a virulent attack upon His Excellency and made some amazing statements.

REPLY TO "STATESMAN'S" ATTACK.

After reading out the extracts from the 'Statesman' * the speaker remarked that inaccuracies of that description were unparalleled in the history of a first class journal. The speaker said that because the 'Statesman' made such observations and said so and so the Council of the Association thought it must be so. They decided that they must do something and proceeded to issue the Communique on the 21st. The speaker objected to the procedure and wanted to dissociate himself from the views expressed in the communique. They would find that in inviting Mr. Das His Excellency was adopting the only constitutional procedure that was possible for any Constitutional Government in any part of the world where they had a Constitutional Government. Here the speaker referred to what His Excellency Sir Frank Sly did at the Central Provinces in inviting the Swarajist leader Dr. Moonji, who had a majority in that Council there, to come and accept the post of Minister.

In conclusion Mr. Thorne asked the members to act as a jury would do with perfect impartiality, and decide whether His Excel-

* This is quoted in full on p. 327

lency acted in the only constitutional manner possible or not. He did not mean any vote of censure on the Council. What he wanted to say was that the Association had run off slightly its track and it was their duty to bring it back and steer it in the right line.

A lady member formally seconded the resolution.

The Opposition.

Mr. Villiers' Reply.

Mr. E. Villiers, the Vice-President of the Association, speaking against the motion said that they must not judge the issue as one merely arising between His Excellency Lord Lytton and Mr. C. R. Das. It had a much wider issue. The issue was an issue between the Constitutional Govt. and those whom Mr. Thorne euphemistically called Home Rulers. It was a negation of all Rule whether at home or abroad. It affected not merely Bengal, not merely the Central Provinces, but it affected the Central Government as it existed in Delhi and Simla, nay, the entire Indian Empire. That was why he would ask them not to be led away by verbal casuistry but to act as a jury and give their impartial verdict.

After dwelling at length on the evils of a Diarchical system of Government and comparing it with the broad English Constitution at Home, Mr. Villiers said that here in India the avowed creed of the Swaraj party was to wreck and only to wreck. They were out to destroy and not to create. Invitation to Mr. Das by His Excellency the Governor, continued the speaker, had given an enormous cohesion to a loose-leaf party and made thousands of others to go over to the enemy's camp. That was the net result of the invitation whether that was intended or not.

MR. LANGFORD JAMES

Mr. Langford James also in opposing the motion said that they were entirely in sympathy with the idea that was in His Excellency's mind but thought he was wrong in sending for Mr. Das. He did not believe that even in the House of Commons if a party came there with a majority whose object was to smash the House of Commons or to dethrone the King it was right to invite the leader of that party and ask him to take the reins of the Government. So in his opinion the simile of English constitution was a false simile in Bengal.

THE MA BAP GOVT. IN INDIA

Everybody must realise that never in the past history of India

had they heard anything except what they called in the language of the country a MA BAP Government. They had never heard of any Government approaching the Democratic Government in India and in Bengal. It was ridiculous to call the present Council as the representative of the democratic wishes of the people. Just as the people of Bengal had not been accustomed to anything in the nature of the Democratic Government, so, on the other hand, they had been accustomed to the worshipping of a personality. They might be right or they might be wrong; they worship Gandhi, they pay the same tribute to Mr. Das. Mr. Das was not looked upon as the leader of a political party, to wit, the Swaraj party, he was not looked upon as the leader of any political party. He was looked upon as Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Bar-at-law. Therefore when the Governor sent for Mr. Das he was allowing the uneducated people of the country to think that he had been sending for the uncrowned King of Bengal to hand over the Government to him. That in his conception was extraordinary and dangerous thing to do. He did not think that in constitutional England any such act would be wise and he thought that in India in the present state of flux it was simply deplorable. Those were the views, he said, of the Council of the Association.

WITHDRAWAL OF RESOLUTION URGED

Mr. Ross then suggested that the mover of the resolution should withdraw it, as, if the resolution was passed, that would give the Press and the public, specially the Swaraj party, an opportunity to make capital out of it.

THE MOVER IN REPLY

Mr. Thorne in replying to the debate remarked that he failed to understand how Mr. Vickers could say that the Home Rulers were out to destroy and not to create. Why were they going to destroy? Were they going to destroy themselves? It was simple to say that they were out to destroy, to burn, to loot. Why were they going to burn and to loot? Were they going to burn and loot themselves? Were they going to destroy their country? It existed only in the imagination of a few people. With regard to Mr. Langford James' observation the speaker said that he was entirely in disagreement with his reading of constitutional history. If the electors sent a party which stood for the abolition of Kingship or for the abolition of any sort of government, he thought that they were representing the voice of the people, and His Majesty, as a constitutional King, could not constitutionally do without them.

Continuing the speaker said that he did not like to withdraw the resolution because, if it was put to the vote, he would know that there were at least certain members who were with him to encourage

him and a time would come when this Association would move forward with Mr. Das who was to-day an Extremist but to-morrow he might be a Moderate, just as Sir Surendranath Banerjea who 15 years ago was an extremist and to-day he was a Moderate. So to-morrow Mr. Das would be a Moderate and they would be clinging on to him.

The matter was then put to the vote and lost, only five members voting for the resolution.

The Statesman's Leader

The following is the Leading Article that appeared in THE STATESMAN of the 16th December 1923, re the Lytton—Das interview, referred to in Mr. Thorne's speech on page 323

"The action taken by Lord Lytton in inviting Mr. C. R. Das to undertake responsibility for the Transferred Departments, or, in other words, to nominate all the Ministers, may well prove the death-blow of the Constitutional party, for it appears to show that the reward of loyalty is to be set aside in favour of an avowed enemy of British administration. Lord Lytton's motives may have been excellent. He may have wished to prove that he is above party resentments and is as ready to turn the other cheek to Mr. C. R. Das as to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.* Possibly he was also anxious to demonstrate that he is above party and that hence it is his duty not merely to accept the actual results of the elections but to interpret them in such a way as to reveal the real verdict of the people. It may be urged, however, that the business of a Governor is not to display an amiable disposition or a Quixotic liberality, but simply to govern; and to govern means carrying out the policy which has been entrusted to his charge, and which is the promotion of ordered political progress by the stages prescribed in the Government of India Act. His actions must be in accord with the provisions of that measure, and should be inspired by a respect for constitutional usage and by a consideration of what is reasonable and of what is due to others. In what way can the extraordinary invitation given to Mr. C. R. Das be reconciled with any of these criteria? The Government of India Act lays down that a Minister should be chosen from among the elected members of a Legislative Council, and a paramount factor in his selection must be that he can command a majority of votes. If, therefore, Mr. C. R. Das were a member of the Bengal Council and if he were at the head of a party forming a majority in the Council it might be right that he should be invited to accept the post of Minister or even, if he had a strong Mahomedan following, to become the head of a Cabinet. But these conditions are not fulfilled. Mr. C. R. Das is not a member of the Bengal Council, and if His Excellency wished to appoint a Swarajist Premier he ought to have searched for a suitable nominee in the Council, not outside. A more serious defect, however, is that those members who are reputed to be followers of Mr. C. R. Das have not a majority in the Legislative Council. Their number is at most about 60 in an assembly which includes 140 members. Among the 60 or 62 adherents attributed to Mr. Das are several candidates who described themselves as Independents and others who bore no label. It is known that many Mahomedans called themselves Swarajists merely in order to distinguish themselves from other Mahomedans and without the slightest intention of subscribing to the Swarajist creed. Regarded, therefore, from a Constitutional standpoint Mr. C. R. Das is only a Bengali politician, the leader of a minority in the Bengal Council. On the contrary, Mr. P. C. Mitter and Nawab Ali Chowdhury, the late Ministers, are in the Bengal Council and can unquestionably count upon a majority of votes. It is difficult even to conjecture why in these circumstances Lord Lytton decided to set aside his old colleagues and to offer the Premiership to an untried politician who leads a minority. A possible hypothesis is that Lord Lytton has

* This is a reference to the great Educational controversy of the year between Lord Lytton, who wanted to officialise the Calcutta University, and Sir Ashtosh Mukherjee, the redoubtable Vice-Chancellor and champion of the University, which ended in Sir Ashtosh triumphantly exposing the meanness of Lord Lytton's Educational policy.

conceived the fallacious idea that, in reckoning the balance of parties, he should ignore the officials who sit in the Chamber and also the representatives of the European community. This doctrine finds no sanction in the Government of India Act, and is obviously dangerous and unsound. The composition of the Legislative Council is an artificial arrangement for the just representation of all Communities and interests, and is based on a recognition of the obvious fact that a mere count of heads would amount to misrepresentation. This compromise stands as a whole; it cannot be taken to pieces and treated in parts. Every vote is as good as another, and a majority is a majority, however it may be composed. It may be added that a minority is a minority, even though made up of apostate Gandhites. This being so, the plain fact remains that Lord Lytton has invited a politician who is disqualified, and who has only a minority in the Council, to take charge not of one Ministry but of all Ministries. Such a defiance of Constitutional usage and of common sense, to say nothing of common fairness, if it can be justified at all, can be vindicated only on the ground that the policy of the leader and party thus singled out for exceptional favour is superior to that of the Constitutionalists and of the Mahomedans, or that the abilities and public services of Mr. C. R. Das and his colleagues excel those of the Constitutional and Mahomedan leaders. These propositions need only be stated to be rejected. The avowed policy of Mr. C. R. Das is to bring the business of the Bengal Legislative Council to a deadlock. It was on the strength of this exhilarating programme that Swarajist victories were won. If Mr. C. R. Das adheres to his aims and objects, His Excellency is presumably willing to see his Ministers put forward proposals calculated to destroy his administration. On the contrary, if Mr. Das is prepared to abandon his creed, he has won his electoral successes by false pretences and should again submit his followers to the verdict of the constituencies. As for the public services of Mr. C. R. Das and his associates, their record is to be found in the sinister story of the crimes and follies of the non-co-operation movement, the most disastrous agitation which ever brought misery to wretched dupes. It is in favour of such men that the faithful supporters of the Constitution have been rejected, and he who runs can read the lesson."

H. E. THE VICEROY AT

The European Association

CALCUTTA, 15TH DECEMBER 1923.

At a dinner given by the European Association to H. E. the Viceroy on the 15th December, just after the annual meeting of the Association given on p. 303, some weighty political speeches were made outlining the policy of the Government of India and of the European Community in the face of the outburst of nationalist sentiment in India.

His Excellency the Viceroy with Lady Reading and party came down to Calcutta on the 15th December morning and in the evening they were the guests of the European Association at the dinner given in the Palais de Danse in the Calcutta Exhibition grounds.

Mr. H. W. Carr

Proposing the toast of "The Viceroy and Governor-General", Mr. Carr, the President, in the course of his speech said :—

The presence of the Head of the Administration in our midst during the cold weather is almost regarded as one of our natural rights. The effect of even this small degree of touch between the Government of India and the greatest centre of British residents in this country is to assist the solution of those ever-changing problems of non-official life, which we know have His Excellency's sympathetic attention—attention we have received tangible proof of on several occasions.

The Political World

When I spoke at last year's dinner, I marked the fact that the non-official community were being driven to take part in political activities in order that British influence might not be wanting in the Councils of the country, and that the Association was preparing to take its part in the political world. The first work in this direction lies in awakening members of the community on their political responsibilities, and on this score alone, we feel that His Excellency's interest is of real value, for it is giving encouragement to the workers who are striving to make the Association a centre of European influence governed by practical goodwill to India.

Not the least of the difficulties with which the Association has to contend arises from ignorant and sneering criticism. For the former there is no justification, as the Association keeps its members well posted with its activities, and this information is made easily

available for the general public. The latter is entirely susceptible to the wind of popularity, and would be of no account but that it waters the seed of destructive criticism.

Criticism of the right kind the Association needs, and I have yet to meet the official in the Central Administration or Branches who objects to it, or who is not ready to step aside when, in the opinion of the membership, the affairs of the Association would be more adequately cared for in the hands of others.

Some organisation through which non-official Europeans may express themselves is essential in the present day, and I would ask critics to try and improve the Association by their art instead of trying to nullify its influence.

POLITICAL EXPRESSION

During the year signs have not been wanting that the European non-official, who is in no way enamoured with politics, is prepared to play his part and to facilitate steps in this direction. The Association has spent a lot of time in preparing more efficient electoral rolls. The rules governing the nomination of candidates for the legislatures are now engaging attention and at the right time we hope to secure amendments which will do away with some of the present residential and other qualifications which are unsuited to conditions of life in India.

Our efforts to impress on the eligible public the need for supporting an organisation capable of expressing itself politically have been tremendously assisted during the past few weeks by the election to the Assembly and Councils of individuals, who whatever their action in future may be, are up to date avowed enemies of Government. His Excellency's remarks the other day at the Chelmsford Club, when he issued a solemn warning to those who are out to frustrate Government, gave us the liveliest satisfaction, for taken with his action during his time in India, they give a clear lead to the whole Administration. That is a lead which we have a right to expect from Government, but to the non-official mind, it has been lamentably wanting on many occasions in many Provinces of late years.

IMPERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

With large numbers of individuals definitely setting out to wreck the Government of the country after having gained a position whence they could constitutionally help to guide it, it is not to be expected that non-official Europeans will remain deaf to the call of what are in reality their Imperial responsibilities. For 40 years the European Association maintained its existence in order to guard Europeans against the occasional attacks of hostile elements, and with a British Government it was possible with varying degrees of success to fulfil its role.

With these hostile parties, however, in a position of power, the situation is radically changed, for the occasional raid on the British connection has developed into a definite challenge which the non-official community cannot afford to ignore. If British residents in this country refrain from organising at the present time we shall not only fail to exercise our full political rights on behalf of the Empire, but we will be neglecting our own interests and will be deserting those loyal Indians who are taking the unpopular course of working hard to give the experiment of the Reforms the greatest possible chance of success.

THE SERVICES

The members of the Association are also grateful to His Excellency for causing an inquiry to be made into the conditions of European service under Government in this country. The question, although of secondary interest to dwellers in our big towns, is of practical interest to every member in the metropolis. There Government servants carry so much responsibility that any lapse from the high standard of the Administration on the part of an individual has rapid and widespread effect on large populations.

Consequently it is vital that experiments with unproved material should be of a restricted nature. We trust that His Excellency will utilise his great influence to prevent the experiment of Indianising the Services developing into a gamble, which this Association feels would certainly be the case were any special pleading allowed to speed up the pace towards self-Government stipulated in the present 10-year period of trial.

The suspicion that this decade might be shortened has been with us off and on since the report on the Reforms was issued, and I must say that the terms of the Royal Commissions' QUESTIONNAIRE have done nothing to allay it. Our fear on this point is not dictated by dislike of the Reforms—these have been accepted without any other reservation than that which the Act itself contains, and too many members of our community have spent their time and energy in assisting them to permit such an interpretation of our attitude.

We feel very strongly, however, that the magnificent edifice under erection in India by members of our own community working in conjunction with Indians of similar aspirations is too far from completion, and has too great a future to jeopardise its permanency by any undue haste in the building.

RACIALISM & CERTIFICATION GOOD!

May I add one further remark before leaving this subject? Nothing this Association is doing or proposes to do is in any way dictated by racial considerations. We wish to live on the friendliest terms with our Indian fellow subjects and we are simply working that India shall be governed on the most efficient principles we know, those which have brought the British Empire to its present position.

Further, we are convinced that the firm and consistent attitude adopted by Your Excellency and by the executive heads of your Administration, even to the extent of the use of the powers of certification—have served and will better serve the interests of India and make more true friends of the Empire than continuous concessions to unreasoning agitation have ever done.

We even have some hope that such a course will lead to the conversion of conspiring destructionists into a party expressing itself in constitutional opposition and criticism—a right we all exercise at times, and one which we have no wish to monopolise.

INDIANISATION.

With regard to Indianisation—we look for and welcome the advent of Indians, efficient both in education and moral, into positions of authority, for therein we recognise the expected result of the British tutelage in India.

It is always dangerous to base one's remarks on rumour, but I cannot allow this occasion to pass without reference to the persistent rumour of His Excellency's retirement. It crops up regularly every few months, and in fact is so persistent that it is difficult not to suspect its having the same parentage as is ascribed to many thoughts. Circumstantial evidence of this genealogy is to be found in the fact that His Excellency's handling of his high office has been such as to interfere seriously with the operations of those whose business and often whose livelihood it is to fish in troubled waters.

His Excellency's past refutation of the rumour has been reassuring, and this Association earnestly expresses the hope that the truth of the old adage of rumour being a lying jade will be again demonstrated, and that His Excellency will continue to guide the Government of this country with the ever-increasing success which has so far been won for his Viceroyalty—success on which I would ask you all to rise and congratulate him, while wishing him health and happiness with which to carry on the work he has set his hand to.

H. E. The Viceroy's Speech

H. E. the Viceroy after thanking the Association in reply said :—

I sincerely hope that in these days there will be no relaxation in the activities of this Association, and that the European community will give to it ever-increasing support in order that it may express with full authority their views upon the public affairs of India.

I am very grateful to you for your observations regarding myself as Viceroy. They are a great encouragement to me in my difficult and responsible task. I have seen the rumours, you men

nothing of them or their cause of origin. I pay no regard to them, and after this expression of my views you will doubtless treat them in similar fashion. (Applause.)

AN EVENTFUL YEAR.

The year which has passed since I last had the pleasure of meeting you all has been full of events—events of unusual interest both to the Empire and to India. The peace negotiations with Turkey have come to a solution. Their conclusion has brought a sense of relief to the East and to the Moslems of India in particular. The Reparations question and the situation in Germany have been the cause of unceasing anxiety, and the problems of peace in Europe have been as difficult as those of the war. Trade and economic conditions are recovering slowly, if at all. There has been much unemployment in the British Isles. Two Imperial Conferences of the greatest importance to the Empire and to India have been held. A general election has taken place at Home. His Majesty's Government and the Dominion Governments are straining every effort, and exploring every expedient to solve the difficult questions which the war has left in its wake. The Empire, with that determination which helped to win the war, is getting to grips with the no less momentous task of making a success of the peace.

INDIA'S PROBLEMS.

India also during the period has had experiences, not perhaps of such general moment, but nevertheless, of very great importance to us in India. The life of the first Legislative Assembly came to a close with the session of last July. That session and the meetings of the preceding spring were of unusual interest. I need not recapitulate the more important events. The passing of the so called Racial Distinction Legislation was, I know, of special interest to your Association. Last year our financial position caused us the gravest anxiety. We took the most drastic steps to reduce expenditure—ably assisted by a Committee presided over by one of Calcutta's business magnates and containing Calcutta business men without whose help we could never have attained success; and the results of our action will be efficacious and beneficial, not only as regards the Budget on which we are working but in the future also.

That Salt Tax!

In order, however, to show a balanced banker's book I was obliged to act in accordance with the responsibilities with which I have been entrusted as Governor-General; and I had no alternative except to use my special powers to certify an increase in the Salt Tax at a rate necessary for achieving financial stability. The echoes of the opposition aroused by my action have not yet completely died away. I have explained my position publicly, and the same

wish to repeat that the months which have since passed have only served to convince me that the financial situation fully justified my action, that its beneficial effect on the credit of India is undoubted and that the objections urged on economic grounds have proved to have had no real foundation.

India in the Empire.

Two Imperial Conferences of great importance have taken place. I need not dwell here on their results. To one aspect of these Conferences, however, I may draw attention. I think the discussions must have laid once for all two of those ghosts which for sometimes paraded in India before us as bogeys with clanking chains. (Laughter.) In the first place the Conferences gave prominence to a subject, to which I often allude, the great place awaiting India in the Empire. There are those who would have us believe that His Majesty's Government and the Dominions in Imperial affairs sit like the Gods apart on fields of Amaranth and wholly careless of mankind, that is of mankind represented by India.

I cannot imagine that after the Imperial Conference recently held this contention can ever be put forward again. For in both Conferences India and her affairs not only appeared on the programme but actually formed a "piece de resistance" at the entertainment; and on several days of the meetings India was the only subject of discussion, all attention being centred on her problems and her point of view.

The further point I have in mind is the angle of view which regards Indian affairs as exclusively dominated and controlled by an unsympathetic and indifferent Secretary of State who is domiciled in a hostile country known as Whitehall. Indeed, in a public address recently presented to me I was described as standing between an angry India and an autocratic Secretary of State. (Laughter.) We are deeply indebted to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, our Indian delegates, for their unceasing effort and most eloquent advocacy of India's cause in the Kenya discussions; but all will admit their presentation of our case was immeasurably assisted and furthered by Lord Peel's great speech. I am assured by many of my Indian friends that no Indian could have put India's point of view in a more cogent, a more sympathetic or a more forceful manner than was done by Lord Peel.

The Services.

Last year we spoke of the services in India. Questions of recruitment, of indianisation and of provincialisation, were in our minds. We recognised that where there had been some change in the form of the driving power of our administrative machinery this might produce in its turn some effect on the delicate instruments by which the Government achieves its technical processes; and that if the latter were to suffer, the welfare of India would be affected.

with repercussions on the opinion which might be entertained of the material value to India of the reforms.

Mr. Carr has again spoken of the solicitude of your Association for the services and for the recruitment of the best material in the interest of the efficient running of the administrative machine and the future of India. I welcomed the assurance he gave last year on behalf of your Association that you viewed progress in Indianisation with full sympathy always provided the standard of Government in this country was maintained. The difficulties which have been felt by the members of the services and the wider question of the composition, method of recruitment, and conditions of employment of the services for the future in the administration under the reformed constitution are now being examined by the Royal Commission, and for this reason I refrain from further comment.

The solution of these problems is of vital importance to India and to the working of the reforms: I know that the members of your Association will ponder over these questions in the best interests of India and give to Lord Lee's Commission the benefit of your considered opinion.

A Fling at the Swarajists.

Let me turn for a moment to our internal politics. The present time is one of special interest. The life of the first Legislative Assembly has come to an end, and the members of a new Assembly and of new Legislative Councils in the Provinces are about to enter on their course. A few months ago I summed up the progress that had been made by their predecessors. They left a record of solid achievement behind them. They pressed forward the plough of the pioneers over new fields and in the furrows behind they left the seeds germinating of a crop for posterity to reap.

Many of them, I am glad to say, will return and will assist the newly elected legislative bodies with their store of general experience and sobriety of judgment; but these new Councils will also contain many of those who once held aloof from our constitutional bodies. Some of those have been in the past connected with ideas of progress which are contrary to accepted ideals and which my Government considered injurious to India's welfare. Nevertheless, now that they enter the fold of our legislators, I trust that their close association and better acquaintance with the work of administration will eventually result in increased sobriety of judgment and in greater regard for more peaceful but surer methods of progress.

Former traditions may at first have their influence; but I hope that as experience matures these will be left outside the doors of the Council Chamber, and that a truer patriotism may shine forth in the service of India in this period of her opportunity and her test.

I trust I may not be mistaken in the hopes I have expressed

and that differences of opinion between them and my Government may be solved by mutual goodwill and desire for the welfare of India.

Europeans as India's Patriots !

Let me return to the subject of patriotism. Where India concerned I am sure that we all are, according to our abilities and in our convictions, true patriots. Your Association has as its watchword a desire to "foster relations of cordiality and co-operation with Indians working constructively for India's good." It is as regards the pace of progress and the method of serving India that some differ from others. Some would convey the coach, to refer to Mr. Carr's metaphor of last year, to its destination, having viewed the difficulties and dangers of the road, at a safe pace behind well-trained horses. They would not overstrain their cattle, they would run no risk of whipping them on to a standstill or to a fall, of overturning the coach upon the road.

Others, however, would harness to it untrained race-horses and send them forth on their long journey with a loose rein at the paces of a five-furlong race. There can be no question as to which method will bring India in safety to the end of her journey. Haste and impatience do not make for real political progress. Take the history of the franchise, of the great annals of the progress of democracy and liberties in England. Advance came by stages and those who reared the edifice consolidated their work as they built.

PITFALLS OF RASH ACTION.

In these days no doubt there is greater rapidity of progress in the world. The pulse of the self-expression of a nation beats more quickly. There are now more widely spread desires and more universal aspirations to take part in the work of Government and influence its activities. I should be the last to ignore such changes. Stirrings of this nature in the minds of the people evoke my sympathy. Nevertheless, the essential truth of the statement of principle I have made regarding political progress remains unchanged. The sincerity of the desire to advance is not in itself or by itself a safeguard against the very real pitfalls of rash action.

India has in the last few years made remarkable progress in the policy of His Majesty's Government, however constituted, has been declared in unmistakable terms.

Let us, however, beware of undue precipitancy which may retard but will not hasten the advent to the desired goal. Rather let those who would serve India, Hindus, Mahomedans and Europeans, the masses and the masses, march together as one progressive army, a well ordered array with patriots and statesmen in the forefront lead her on to the consummation of her high aims and aspirations and to the contentment and happiness of her peoples. (Applause)

FOURTH SESSION OF THE All-India Social Workers' Conference

BOMBAY, 29TH NOVEMBER 1923.

The fourth session of the All-India Social Workers' Conference was held in Bombay at the Vanita Vishram Hall, when a large number of ladies and gentlemen comprising Europeans, Parsis and Hindus were present. The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas was the Chairman of the Executive Committee and Mrs. Besant the President.

The Chairman's Address

Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Chairman of the Executive Committee, in welcoming the delegates said :—

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Executive Committee, I beg to offer you a sincere welcome to this—the Fourth All-India Social Workers' Conference held under the auspices of the various social service bodies in this city. It was in December, 1916 that a meeting was held at Lucknow in connection with the Theistic Conference, to consider the advisability of having an All-India Social Service Conference. Dr. D. N. Maitra in his inaugural address pointed out the desirability of co-ordination between various associations that were carrying on social service work, for the purpose of inter-change of ideas, comparison of methods and experiences and finding out therefrom what reforms to introduce in their own sphere of work. It was then resolved to call an All-India Social Service Conference next year at Calcutta. In accordance thereto the first conference of this character was held at Calcutta in December, 1917, and was fitly presided over by the greatest Indian—Mahatma Gandhi. The second conference was held at Delhi and was presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Owing to various reasons no such conference was held during the years 1919, 1920 and 1921. Conferences of similar character were, however, being held in Madras, and at the conference of 1922 presided over by Dr. Maitra it was resolved that the "All-India Social Service Conference movement inaugurated at Lucknow in 1916 and the All-India Social Workers' Conference movement inaugurated in Madras this year be amalgamated and that this conference be, therefore, regarded as the Third All-India Social Service Conference. To-day's conference is the first conference after the amalgamation, but to keep up the continuity of the movement it should rightly be called the Fourth All-

resolution that League was asked to prepare a Directory of Social Work in India. Although the All-India Social Service League has not begun to function a Directory on the lines suggested at Madras, it has been prepared by the Bombay Social Service League for the whole of India excepting the City and the Island of Bombay. This Directory shows clearly to what extent the spirit of social service has permeated in all parts and in all communities in this country.

The ideal of social service in its primitive form is as old as humanity. Coming to our own country, we find references to the virtues of Daya (Charity), Loka Samgraha (good of the people) even in the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita which treat more of the growth and development of each individual soul than of social work. The use of phrases like "Sarva-loka-hite rathaha" in the Mahabharata goes to show that a distinct stress was laid in those days on social work. A country that produced a Lord Buddha, or a Mahavira, Jain who preached the doctrine of universal Love and Ahimsa could not have been devoid of the spirit of social service. It is a well-known fact that the Bhikkus of the Buddhist religion as well as the Yatis of the Jain religion started and controlled educational and medical institutions in towns and villages. Their 'Maths' were the centres of all philanthropic work. The teaching of the Vedanta that a man should consider himself as one with the whole universe, when converted into terms of practical life, means that he should serve the whole universe as if he were serving himself. With the formation of the first four castes, which, according to Lord Shree Krishna were formed "Guna-karma-vibhagsha" there was division of social work and each caste undertook the task of rendering all social service to its members in the first instance. Later on these castes, especially of those who worked by the hand and not by brain, developed on the lines of the trades guilds of the West and looked after the comforts of such members of the community as were in need of assistance. As in the pre-British times there were no large industrial centres as we have now, each village, small or large, and even each large town was usually self-contained, and the village community was a live institution. As a result of this the village community held itself responsible for carrying out all social service work. Even now work of a similar character is being done by Village Panchayats, where they exist, from a common village fund raised by a small cess on an agricultural produce. In large towns the communities cared for their members and consequently there was very little need for organising social service of the kind that is found necessary in modern times, especially in industrial centres. But with the break-down of the caste system, to a certain extent, and the change in the form of industrial organization, it is necessary to adapt the method of rendering social service to their altered conditions. Looking to the history of the West we find that even there social service in its present form was organised after the advent of industrialism, for, there is practically no reference to such work being

done during the 18th century. We, in India, are at present practically following the lines laid down by social workers in the West. This means the concentration of our work in industrial centres and leads to our ignoring the very large population of the country that lives in villages. In industrial centres a large number of manual workers coming from distant parts do not get decent housing accommodation and have to live in slums huddled in one room tenement. Their income is hardly sufficient for their subsistence, they have no social amenities of the kind that they get in their own villages; and there are certain temptations in their way, such as liquor shops and houses of ill-fame. Many of them are forced to lead lives in which there is hardly any bright ray of happiness, and some of them soon become physical, intellectual and, in a few cases, moral wrecks. It is natural, therefore, that the attention of the social workers is first drawn to them, for, we would not be human if we did not set about improving their surroundings and their physical and intellectual status. While, therefore, this work must be undertaken in the first instance, we must not forget our poorer brethren in small towns and villages, whose difficulties do not come so prominently in view. We have more than 80 per cent of our population living in small towns and villages, and if we want to develop social service on Indian lines, we must continually think of rendering service to these brethren also. If we do not bear in mind this view-point there is just the danger that our activities will merely follow the lines that may be laid down by international conferences that are held in the West. We know that there is a feeling of mistrust and even of hatred existing between capital and labour in the West. Let us guard ourselves against that feeling spreading between our capitalists and manual workers. This evil can only be avoided if there is a personal and human contact between the employers and employed, and it is the duty of the former to stretch out their hand of love and fellow-feeling towards those who by their manual labour make it possible for them to make profits. If they do this not in a patronising spirit but in a spirit of equality as between man and man, the manual workers will, I am confident, be delighted to reciprocate their feeling of human brotherliness.

The Presidential Address.

The President, Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant, in her address first thanked the Conference for electing her as their president and then continued:—

The law of Human Society should be the Law of the Family, within whose sacred circle the weakness of extreme youth or extreme old age, of sickness, of infirmity, of mal-formation, of defectiveness is not taken as a reason for neglect, nor for unkind-

Love is the fulfilling of the Law, and in the larger family of the Nation, Love must be the inspiration of Law, and the duties spontaneously taken up by the elders towards the youngers in the family by the impulsion of Love, are—when broadened and made permanent—the Social Virtues which secure the stability and the happiness of the State.

For those Virtues, born of Love, are the fittest to survive in Human Society, and are verily essential to its continuance, though at the first sight they may seem to bring about the destruction of its best, its most necessary elements. The Hero who sacrifices his life to serve his country, the Martyr who sacrifices his life to serve his religion, they obey the highest Law which has yet been revealed to man, the Law of Service, the Law of Sacrifice. For, in the voluntary death of the body, they exhale the deathless fragrance and inspiration of the highest human qualities, by the attainment of which man reaches Union with God and with his brother. Huxley, the agnostic, believed in human perfectibility, and affirmed, in the words of an Eastern Sage: "The Law of the Survival of the Fittest is the Law of Evolution for the brute; the Law of Self-Sacrifice is the Law of Evolution for the man." For the Spirit lives by giving, not by taking and to the Spirit sacrifice is not pain but is the highest joy.

There is a legend which comes down to us from the older days, a legend which embodies the foundation of Human Brotherhood. It is said that when the Philosopher-Mystic, Shri Shankaracharya, was visiting Benares, and had performed in Ganga-mat his morning prayers to the Most High, he passed wrapped in thought through the narrow streets, and found, barring his way, rolling playfully on the ground over which his holy feet were to pass, an outcaste of the lowest type. Shrinking from the contact, scarce evitable on that straight path, Shankaracharya cried out hastily: "Out of the way, out of the road, let me pass." Laughing, the outcaste raised his eyes under his ragged hair: "Who asks whom, Great Sage, to get out of the way? Is it your food-made body that asks my food made-body to get out of the way? Or is it the inner Consciousness in you that asks the inner Consciousness in me to get out of the road?" And the merry outcaste gave another joyous roll while the Philosopher, startled by the unexpected retort, stood silent. "Say, then, O mighty Sage, in the changeless Pratyag Atma, full of eternal Bliss and Wisdom, where is the difference between the Brahmana and the Svapaka? Is there any difference in the sun ray that shines on Ganga's waters, and on the water in an open pot in the Chandala's yard? Is there any difference between the Akasa pervading a golden vessel and an earthen jar?" Then the Sage who had taught the doctrine of Non-Duality, saw within the outcaste the splendour of the hidden God, the "Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and he said, folding his hands in salutation: "He who realises the One Consciousness

biding in the walking, in the dreaming, and the dreamless states, who realises the One Consciousness in all embodied beings, from the mightiest Deva to the tiniest ant, who thus realises that the Reality is not in the transitory forms but in the Eternal Consciousness, he is my Guru, whether in the form of a Chandala or of a twice-born." And the twice-born Sage touched the head of the outcaste, in whom he saw the shining of the Divine Splendour.

Thus to see the Spirit through the veil of flesh in the most degraded of our brethren is the bed-rock of Social Service, and the redemption of our degraded brother. The inspiration to Social Reform spring from the longing to clear away the obstacles of ignorance, of physical, emotional and mental filth, of brutal instincts, of criminal tendencies, that prevent in him the shining through of that Spirit in man, who is a spark of the Divine Fire.

PENOLOGY AND OUR PRISONS.

Perhaps more than any other Social Problem does Penology, as a Science—and our Prisons, as an application of a wrong theory—deserve careful study ere the treatment of criminals in the concrete is considered. For a working definition of Crime, we may say that a crime is an act forbidden under penalty, as dangerous or injurious to the public welfare, by the laws of the country in which we are living. It may, or may not, be morally wrong in itself; that depends on the normal moral level of the country. The criminal is abnormal among the normal. Two classes stand out as strikingly abnormal, as below the average level, viz, lunatics and criminals; they shade into each other, and modern Science tends more and more to regard the criminal as an undiscovered lunatic. While Lombroso's theory of the congenital criminal has been widely discussed and disputed, and Dr. Maurice Parmelee in his work, *Criminology* (1921) rejects it on somewhat minute and technical grounds; he himself comes very nearly to a similar conclusion.

On the other hand, it is doubtless true that some persons are born with traits which make them peculiarly prone to commit crimes if their environment is conducive to criminal conduct, and part of the criminal class is recruited from this group. In recognition, therefore, of these powerful congenital forces for crime there is a measure of truth in calling them born criminals.

Lombroso found certain peculiarities in anatomical malformations of the skeleton and viscera, as well as certain abnormalities in physiological processes, which he considered to be an atavistic type. He spoke of the born criminal as a "four moral," "a moral mad man," but such a phrase takes us no further.

Then we must abolish niggling, silly, provocative rules, the mechanical uniformity which turns men into machines, destroying all harmless expression of thought and feeling, and causing dangerous nervous irritation, which breaks out occasionally in mutiny and

revolt. The result of this constant pressure of uniformity, of the shutting out of all healthy interests, of shutting a man into a cell, is the abnormal importance attached to small grievances, to fancied offences, brooded over till they expand into mountainous wrongs.

MARRIAGE.

There is no more difficult subject for Social Reformers to touch than that of Marriage, and rightly so, for on the sacredness of the family depends the stability and purity of Society, the safety of mothers and children and the family depends on the marriage relation. Owing to these fundamental facts, marriage has always been interwoven with religion, and religious rites have been invoked to heighten the marriage obligations. While religions were National and while the rejection of the religion of the State, as with Israel and in Republican or Imperial Rome, was regarded, so far as people belonging to the Nation were concerned, as treason to the State, few difficulties arose, if any, with regard to marriage; the civil and the religious duties occupied one category. But in modern days, and specially in a country like India—in which are found practically all the great religions, and many survivals of forms that have long passed away among civilised people—the difficulties of accommodating varieties of beliefs with social stability are especially great in relation to marriage. Each religion has its own marriage laws, and the orthodox in each regard any relaxation of these in favour of the less orthodox as a blow at the sanctity of marriage. This difficulty has arisen also in countries on the Continent of Europe, and has there been solved, with the tacit assent of the Roman Catholic Church, which, above most other religions, insists on the indissolubility of marriage, and neither permits divorce nor the re-marriage of a divorced person, whatever may be the civil law of the country of which the parties are natives. Among the Hindus, caste differences and inter-caste rules, the forbiddal of re-marriage to a widow, and child marriage, still further complicate the question, with the varied laws of inheritance among many, and the joint family custom. It is therefore impossible, apparently, that Social Reformers of many religions can come to any joint action on the matter. And yet, from the standpoint of the State, to which the legitimacy of the marriage union on which depends the legitimacy or illegitimacy of its citizens, is a matter of vital concern, there should be a simple and easy way of determining the validity of every marriage.

In France, for instance, there is no interference by the State with the religion or non-religion of the parties desiring marriage. It is held that with that the State has nothing to do. But it claims that it has everything to do with the legitimacy of the children, who will be its citizens and subjects to its laws, and it therefore insists on the execution of a civil contract by the parties who enter into marriage with each other, whatever religious rites they may perform outside its purview. Hence the bridegroom and bride with their respec-

re relatives and friends, sign the marriage contract before the State official, and return to their several homes. Within a few days the religious ceremony, that which alone in the eyes of all belonging to the religion makes them husband and wife, takes place exactly as if no civil contract had been made. Such is the solution which has been found to work smoothly among a people very devoted to their religion, and a people also among whom religious controversies are very bitter. The bitterness between the Catholic and the Atheist in France is perhaps one of the keenest in the world; yet neither objects to the civil marriage; the Catholic complies with the law of his country, and the Atheist does not concern himself with the religious ceremonies of his neighbour.

It was clear in the discussion in the Legislative Assembly of Dr. Gour's Bill, that a similar solution of inter-marriages between castes and sub-castes, and between persons of different religious divisions, did not recommend itself to the orthodox members belonging to the different religions. Parsis and Muhammadans, as well as Hindus, objected to a civil formality in addition to the religious rite, as in some way throwing a slur on the religious ceremony. While that feeling continues to exist among large numbers of pious persons, it is manifestly undesirable for them to perform a State duty to which they feel a religious objection. Consequently, Dr. Gour restricted the scope of his Bill to those who wished to take advantage of it. It seems, therefore, impossible for Social Reformers as a body, however much they may desire it, to formulate any common policy on Marriage Reform. Some will oppose child-marriage on religious, social and scientific grounds; others will be in favour of it. Some will think that widows have as much right to re-marry as widowers and will therefore, whether they disapprove or approve the marriage of widows, refuse to ostracise specially any who exercise that right. Those who insist on the orthodox way can follow it according to their conscience. Those who would enlarge and reform social customs under this head are free to carry on their own propaganda, and at the worst can console themselves with the fact that we all die, sooner or later, that each generation introduces some new ideas, both good and bad, and that ultimately all ideas are tested by Time, and only the good survive.

WELFARE AND FACTORY LABOUR.

If we were to have right education, we should have no criminals to restrain; but even education cannot make a thoroughly satisfactory citizen out of a starving babe, born from starved and over-worked mother into a room which has no fresh air, and which is black-dark at noon—say in a Bombay Chawl. It is said that the mother is trained to nourish the unborn child, and that therefore the babe may be fairly nourished though the mother is ill-fed. Yet the death-rate of babies in their first month of independent life is appalling. On this, we have to face one of the great problems of

the life of the poor—the co-existence of motherhood and of factory labour. I am not going to raise here the thorny question of Capital and Labour, of individual or collective ownership of land and machinery. I am here concerned only with the relation of the Nation to the Mothers of the Nation, a condition which, not grappled with till lately in the great manufacturing country of England, had filled her factory towns with an undersized, pallid and weedy population, bright in intelligence, well-informed in economic and political questions, but ill-developed in body, lacking in muscular strength and in vitality. I have seen a finely moulded peasant woman, deep in bosom, broad in hips, transplanted to a slum, and each successive babe more stunted and more pallid than his predecessor. If healthy motherhood is to return, then the law must either forbid the labour of married women in factories, as it forbade their working in underground mines, or must insist that the employers, who engage married women as factory workers, shall remember these women's duty to the Nation, and shall give them their full wages for six weeks or at least a month, both before and after the birth of the child. I seriously doubt whether work in the factory is compatible with the duty of a woman as mother; for, the hurried and strenuous work of the factory is not congruous with the leisurely and tender care of a nursing mother for her little one, and the creche is a poor substitute for the cottage floor and the cradle, set swinging, as the mother pushes it, as she passes it in her homework. To leave the baby in a railed enclosure amid the rattle and crash of the weaving machinery battering on the tender nerves; to snatch it up for the permitted half-hour to give it its food, no time to pet and coax it, if it be wayward or uneasy; to have done the best she could for the little brothers and sisters at home: to settle the house; to hurry to the factory with the latest born; to mingle her work and her nursing; and return home to take up her household work, to cook for husband and children; to wash up, put the children to bed, and perhaps stay up half the night with the baby; and finally to get lower wages than her husband, who has only the factory work, and to have the scanty wages cut off when she needs it most—what wonder that she conceals the coming of the renewed maternal agony which means her gift to the Nation's life, but the stoppage of her wages, and that she works up till the last day even, and returns in a few days, weak and suffering, often to bear during her remaining life the results of the injury wrought on her womanhood, wrongfully robbed of the rest necessary for recuperation.

Now that women have votes in some provinces of India, will they not make this question of maternity benefits their own and remembering their own motherhood, looking at their well-born, tenderly cared-for little ones, will they not insist that these, their toil-worn sisters, who share with them Motherhood's agony but little of Motherhood's joys, refuse to vote for any candidate who will not

pledge himself to bring India into line with other civilised countries on this matter so vital to the Nation's health?

And women can do more than this. They are eligible to sit on Municipalities, and it is Municipalities that must share part of the burden of protecting the Mothers of the Nation. In Bradford, England, the Mother-to-be is taken care of before and during her time of suffering. Expectant mothers among the crowded poor are visited, and rooms are ready in the Maternity Home for those who lack the necessities for medical and nursing attendance. After the birth of the child and the lapse of the requisite time of rest, the care is continued. Well-sealed bottles of the best milk that comes to the town are sent to the baby's home, and clinics are open for advice on infantile ailments. Will not women in the Madras and Bombay Municipalities, at least, exert themselves, whether members or only voters, to do their duty to mothers and to the children newly come into the world?

EDUCATION OF CITIZENS.

What should be the relation of the Child to the State. By "the State," I mean the organised Nation. I do not mean the Government. That is merely the organ of the Executive Power of the Nation over itself, of the Nation's will expressed in Action, and it is, therefore, rightly called the Executive. The child coming into the world, helpless but full of potentialities is, as has been rightly said, "an asset of the Nation." He is not the property of the parents. They are trustees, not owners. If he is to be an asset, not a burden, then, if he be born into a civilised Nation, he should be surrounded by conditions which will enable him to develop all the germinal qualities which he had brought with him into the world. This I claim for every child. Every child has a right to Education. With it, he will be valuable to the Nation; without it, he will be a burden or a danger. And therefore Education should be free, that is, supplied by the Nation, for the State will hereafter reap far more profit from the educated man than will his parents. Up to a common level of culture, all the future citizens should be lifted—so that pleasant social intercourse can be carried on—and then should begin the vocational education, according to the necessities of the State. The Education should go on till the citizen can earn his livelihood, and it should be compulsory for his parents cannot be allowed to render their child a danger to the State by his ignorance.

IDEAL CHILDHOOD.

The principles of Educational Reform should be carefully discussed among the thoughtful, so that the child may have the best education the Nation is able to give. The child—all your children—will be free citizen in a free State. Then they must learn the responsibilities of Freedom, its austere demands, its immense claims, the duty of the citizen to render to the State his best, his most loyal service. Should not Education be Spiritual that we may realise our

Unity? Intellectual, that all our faculties may be trained, and ready for use? Moral, that we may know our duties as civilised men and women, fit to live in a human society, mutually helpful and seeking the common good? Physical, because bodily health is necessary for our discharge of our duties and the body must be disciplined to swift and alert obedience to the instrument of the Will, enlightened by the Intellect and guided by Morals. As we study human development, we see that the first seven years of life are dominated by the senses, and their training is the education fitted to these years; for this, the child should have as much freedom as is consistent with his safety, that he may show out his qualities his tastes, his impulses, that the teacher may rightly meet his needs, and impart the knowledge he seek of all the things that surround him. Every generous impulse should be encouraged, every selfish impulse tenderly checked, never by a harsh word or look, so that the child may be utterly fearless, trustful, confident. The next seven years is the time for helping him to direct rightly his emotions, to inspire him with great ideals, with a love for all that is noble, heroic, beautiful, strong, self-sacrificing, serviceable, by using striking examples from the history of his own and other lands, of virtues embodied in men and women, arousing love and admiration. Then will he be fitted to pass through the period of adolescence without danger, his emotions directed to admire rightly and to act nobly. He may during these years also study the facts of science and history, store his memory with deathless verse and harmonious prose. The exercise of the more purely intellectual powers, of logic of reasoning, of mathematics, is the chief discipline of the third septennate, and into that will come his vocational education, his hardest study. Side by side with these will go the training of the body into clean, strong, healthy manhood or womanhood.

In this sharp division, it is not intended to exclude concurrent studies, but only to intimate the dominant characteristic of each stage. In the first stage, the instruments of learning will be acquired that will be used in the second, and the foundations of right character will be laid by apparent play. In the second, the reason will be encouraged but never strained, and character will be builded. In the third, the intellect will dominate, and its peculiar faculties strenuously trained. All will be done in an atmosphere of religion, i.e., of love and duty, of alert service to God through the family, the school, the college, the ever-widening life.

Now that the Education of the Youth of the Nation is wholly in Indian hands, it is more than ever necessary that it should be planned wisely, directed strongly, and made beautiful by harmony and proportion. The worship of the True, the Beautiful and the Good was the Ideal of the Greek, and he embodied a wonderful conception of the True in his Philosophy, of the Beautiful in his Art, of the Good in his Service to the State.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

India has submerged, or as many people call them, depressed classes. That is a crime against the Brotherhood of Man, the guilt of which she shares with every civilised country. In London, said Charles Booth, every tenth person died in a work-house, a hospital, or a goal, let alone those who died in abominable slums. But India is unique in marking her submerged classes as "untouchable." There are many generally recognised temporary reasons for untouchability, such as a contagious disease, dirt, drunkenness, and the like. But India is unique in having a huge class, one-sixth of her population, under an irremovable mark of untouchability, branded on men, women and children at birth. They are born into untouchability, as others are born into wealth and other desirable things.

And their lot is far harder now than it was centuries ago, before the towns drew numbers of them into their limited areas, and crowded them into spots which become ever more and more congested. In the village life of the past they were wage-earning laborers, and had their appointed place; in Brahmana villages, or Agraharams, wherein the Brahmanas were really landlords, we find Panchamas, as such, wage-earning laborers; some villages were Panchama villages, and others Royal villages, where, again, they were paid as laborers. But where there were differences of caste and non-caste, as in villages with different castes holding land communally, we read that there will be a Kovil or a small temple for the Panchamas, free homesteads, free grazing ground, small plots of land set apart for their use, right to cut jungle wood for fuel, and to take jungle produce for manure, right to take jungle timber for house-buildings, and generally, all the claims which the laboring population had in other villages.

What is untouchability? It is an artificial state imposed on numbers of people by the very orthodox Hindus, which does not necessarily connote inferiority of any kind, except that the touch of an untouchable person on certain others, prevents the latter from performing certain ceremonies of his or her religion, because the touch is regarded as pollution. All foreigners are regarded as untouchables by large numbers of orthodox Hindus, who will bathe after touching them, if touch be unavoidable.

We segregate, i.e., render untouchable, people suffering from small-pox, scarlet fever, and diseases which visibly affect the skin-perspiration. When the sense of smell is affected by people who drink alcohol, or who smoke or who are suffering from certain internal disease minute particles from them enter the nostrils of others and impinge on their organs of smell. What is called our magnetism is affected by imperceptible volatilised particles, and so on. A dog can follow by smell the track of a walker; if he has smelt an article he has worn, it is enough. These are facts in nature and are the

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foundation of the theory of untouchability. But these do not depend on birth, but on manner of life. All these come from the life. And that is the first thing to realise in dealing with it as it exists in India. Facts, distorted and exaggerated, support a structure which is unreal.

Many an out-caste is touchable. Many a high-caste is untouchable; that is, his touch pollutes. If a man comes near me, and I smell alcohol from him, I know that particles of his poisoned body are falling on the inner delicate surface of my organ of smell, and his physical neighbourhood is very unpleasant. We cannot avoid these things if we live in a world where people have many non-hygienic habits, and we can only sterilise their unpleasant emanations when they fall upon us, by a starvation, that is, by so keeping our own bodies that they offer no soil for poisoned particles.

Untouchability in India, however, is not dependent on natural facts, but on an unreasonable prejudice as to birth. And the best method of stimulating the uplift of the submerged is by frankly stating that it is not a man's birth which makes any man untouchable, but his habits, if they are unclean. We have to say that the bringing of many of the untouchables into society depends on their changing their habits, where they are unclean, and that we will help them to change. And to be of help, we must ever treat them with respect and with gentle courtesy, and thus arouse in them the uplifting quality of self-respect. No rough word, no gesture of contempt should ever be addressed to an outcaste.

There is one point on which I should like to hear the opinion of this Conference. Ought children of the untouchables, when they are—as a result of their social degradation—suffering from diseases bred of dirt, often verminous, and who are wholly untrained in decent language and manners, to be forced into schools in which are being taught children, who have been well-brought up, and are clean and healthy, by the refusal of the Government grant unless Panchama children are admitted? I am myself connected with five free Panchama Schools in Madras, and we pay great attention to cleanliness and to what I may call the minor morals. From these we send out children to the higher schools, and with the training they have received, they do not injure the other scholars. They are clean-tongued, courteous, bright and helpful. But with no preliminary training, they would have been centres of corruption. The fault would not be theirs. There are many girls' schools, largely raised by public subscriptions, filled with girl-children from homes where they see only gentle manners, hear only pure language, meet nothing coarse or objectionable. From such schools, if Panchama children are indiscriminately admitted, the mothers will withdraw their little girls. They have guarded them from all undesirable influences; are they to have their little ones exposed to them?

I do not know of any free country in which the children of the masses—inured, poor little ones, to foul language, drunken brawls, decent sights, absence of modesty—are sent into schools of the more refined classes. The children of the educated, guarded from evils of the streets, have some claims as well as the children of slums. I have been a member of the London School Board for East of London, and have seen things there which no child could see. So, I am not speaking without knowledge of the lowest cases there as well as here. And I hold that we should uplift the mass-trodden to a higher level, not drag down the cleaner-living to level of slum manners and slum talk.

It is our duty, the duty of us who are older, to do the work of uplift. Ours to carry purity to the impure, knowledge to the ignorant, decency to the indecent, strength to the weak. But it is also our duty to guard our young children from mental and moral, as well as from physical contagion until they are old enough to guard themselves.

In these submerged brethern of ours, India has a class which, even in similar outrageous conditions, no other that I know can rival. Their patience, their gentleness, their usefulness, their absence of destructiveness are marvellous, and the bright intelligence with which their children respond to education is a wonder, compared with other children in similar conditions in western lands. India will yet have reason to be proud of them, of these her ancient children, long hidden under foot of men. But we cannot fight for freedom with one hand while those who withhold it from us can point as justification, to our treatment of our enslaved brethren. Let us set them free, while we work for our own freedom. Let us treat them as citizens, while we claim citizenship for ourselves. Let us see in them the Hidden God; let us beware lest in torturing them we torture Him who says that, in hurting the body, we torture Him seated in the body; let us feed his hunger, quench his thirst, visit Him in his distress, lest on our ears should fall the ever-sounding, sad, reproachful, words: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to Me."

Resolutions

The Conference passed the following resolutions :—

1.—UNIVERSITIES AND SOCIAL WORK.

"As an aid to better citizenship and in order to give a broader point of view to the professions, this Conference strongly recommends that all Universities should organise general courses of lectures on Community Life and Social Work in Arts Colleges and in Technical and in Professional Colleges.

"It also recommends that the Universities in India should provide in the curricula of Arts Degrees for optional courses in social studies with a view to afford opportunities of theoretical training to social workers.

"This Conference further recommends that bodies like Social Service Leagues should make arrangements for providing practical experience in social work for the students of the University who feel drawn to such work."

2.—TRAINING OF SOCIAL WORKERS.

"This Conference recommends that social service Leagues and similar institutions should suggest lines of approval for study of problems by social workers as an aid to social work and should organise social study clubs."

3.—TEXT-BOOKS ON SOCIOLOGY.

"With a view to facilitate the training of social workers this Conference appoints a Committee of nine gentlemen, with power to add, to find suitable men to write simple text-books in different Indian Vernaculars on Sociology, Social Service and Social Work and also to adopt measures to popularize such text-books when published.

4.—CHARITY ORGANISATIONS.

"This Conference is emphatically of opinion that an enactment for the whole of India passed for the Compulsory Registration of Charitable Trusts on the lines of Act II of 1911 and, in the absence of such legislation, the Conference emphasises the desirability of focussing public opinion on the need of organisation of charities with a view to avoid overlapping of efforts and the waste of money and energy; and as the first step towards this end, recommends that different communities should prepare registers of the Charitable Institutions existing among them."

The next subject considered was "Co-ordination of Social Work". Mr. H. Bryant of the Y. M. C. A. who was the Chairman of the 'A' Committee when this subject was discussed moved a resolution urging the need for co-ordination of social work by provincial organisations, making a systematic survey of social service institutions, holding of local Conferences and acting as information bureaux. Mr. Kanaiyalal strongly advocated the importance of co-ordination of social effort as leading to economy of time and energy and money besides ensuring greater efforts. Prof. Geddes and Dr. D. N. Maithra proposed certain verbal changes in the draft resolution which were accepted and the resolution as amended runs thus :—

5.—CO-ORDINATION OF SOCIAL WORKS.

" This Conference requests that with a view to secure the co-ordination of social work the Executive Committee of the All-India Service League do act as the Central Institution for conducting an educative propaganda.

" It also requests the same Executive Committee to form and put into operation for the purpose a provincial organisation for each language-area in India with the following objects :—

(a) Systematic survey of Social Service Institution etc., (b) Holding of local Conferences, (c) Acting as Information Bureaux for the areas : (d) taking such other steps as are necessary for the promotion of the object of this resolution."

6.—OPEN SPACES AND PLAY-GROUNDS.

" This Conference resolves that immediate steps be taken to urge upon all municipalities the need for establishing and equipping at least two play grounds in different parts of their cities to carry out experimental work in order to the full utilisation of their open spaces for the under-privileged boys and girls of the city, along with boys and girls of other classes on the lines of organised play.

" This Conference recognising the urgent need of open spaces, play grounds and different games for the betterment of the growing children, commends the formation of independent societies in different localities for that purpose essential, and urges upon Social Service Leagues, philanthropic societies and general public of large cities to start the same immediately.

" This Conference is strongly of opinion that it is highly desirable and necessary to make adequate provision of play-grounds and open spaces in all cities ; it urges on the authorities concerned the need for preserving the existing play-grounds and available open spaces and making adequate provision of open spaces for play and recreation in all future schemes of town improvements".

7.—PROSTITUTION.

" (a) While noting with satisfaction the increasing interest that is being taken by the general public in checking the course of prostitution in India the Conference appeals to it to cultivate a more generous and sympathetic attitude towards the victims of this great evil and give all possible support, moral and financial, to start educational and social organizations to enable its victims to become honourable and contented fellow citizens.

" (b) The Conference urges on the public to insist on an equally high standard of morality for both the sexes and not to countenance social customs which lead to prostitution.

" (c) That this Conference is of opinion that the evil should be combated by :—

1. Legislation to make commercialised, professional prostitution, procuration, solicitation and the keeping of brothels penal offences ;

2. The administration of such legislation with the co-operation of non-official social workers ;

3. The organisation of special institutions for the rescue and reformation of the victims of the evil ;

4. The adequate provision of medical facilities to treat venereal diseases ;

5. And educational propaganda to disseminate correct physiological and moral laws of life, hygiene etc.

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' (d) While thankfully appreciating the efforts made by the various Provincial Legislatures to check the growing evil of prostitution, this Conference is of opinion that legislation should go much further and recommends the formation of Vigilance and Rescue Committees consisting of a majority of non-officials and endow them with statutory powers and adequate finances to undertake propaganda, to supervise the administration of enactments for the checking of prostitution, to train Rescue Workers and run Rescue Homes on non-denominational lines etc.

' (e) This Conference draws the attention of Provincial Governments which have not yet attempted any legislation against commercialised vice, to Bombay Act IV of 1923, and urges on them that acts on similar lines be passed for their respective provinces.

' (f) This Conference seeing that the Government of India has asked for opinion as to the advisability of raising the age of consent to extra marital sexual relations of 18 years records its emphatic opinion that such age should be raised preferably to 21, at least to the statutory age of majority namely 18 years, and instructs the General Secretary to forward this resolution to the Home Member.'

8.—RECLAMATION OF CRIMINAL TRIBES AND PRISON REFORM

' (a) This Conference being firmly of opinion that the so-called Criminal Tribes are capable of speedy reclamation under proper and humane treatment, expresses satisfaction at the results so far achieved by Government and non-official agencies like the Salvation Army and other missions in some Provinces of India, and suggests that the scheme of Agricultural and Industrial Settlement should be considerably expanded so as to bring under their influence all so-called Criminal Tribes, and that where non-official agencies come forth to undertake such work, Government should encourage them by making adequate or liberal financial grants.

' (b) As there is no definite standard of criminality by which a whole tribe is declared a Criminal Tribe under the Criminal Tribes Act, and as such declaration brands a large number of innocent men, women and children of the Tribe as criminal, this Conference urges the Government to make as discriminate and wise use as possible of the term "Criminal" in describing a whole community.

' (c) This Conference views with concern the deplorably backward condition of the aboriginal communities of India and calls upon all social workers, the public and Government to devote serious attention towards their uplift.

' (d) This Conference is of opinion that the present Prison Administration in India is badly in need of reform, and urges on the Legislatures to take immediate action to inaugurate a policy of reformation and education in dealing with the prison population.'

9.—PUBLIC HEALTH.

' (a) This Conference views with great apprehension the frightful mortality among mothers and infants in India, particularly in big towns and cities, and, noting with satisfaction the strenuous efforts that are being made by various agencies to reduce it, urges upon the public and the Government further to extend such efforts in both rural and urban areas.

' (b) This Conference advocates that maternity benefits be made obligatory on all employers of labour in a manner suited to meet the requirements of women working in large industrial concerns and recommends that the Convention of the Washington Conference be given effect to by the Government in India, and further recommends the necessity of appointing women inspectresses for factories.

'(c) This Conference is of opinion that the training of Medical Students, Nurses and Midwives should include the practical study of preventive methods and of subjects relating to Public Health.

'(d) This Conference is of opinion that the profession of Nursing is one of the noblest of vocations for women and calls upon Indian women of social standing, character, education and high ideals, to take to this work in ever-increasing numbers.

'(e) While recognising that properly trained nurses and midwives are essential, this Conference is of opinion that for a long time to come, it would be impossible to replace the indigenous 'Dais' and, therefore, suggests that attempts should be made by Government and recognized bodies to give to 'Dais' some training to improve their efficiency.

'(f) Having regard to the great dearth of competent medical aid in rural areas, this Conference is of opinion that a special class of Rural Medical Workers, some of whom should be women, should be created who shall be trained by Government to render First-aid and simple medical relief, to help to treat and combat the common epidemics, and who may be employed by local bodies, co-operative societies and village unions.

'(g) This Conference is of opinion that legislation should be introduced for registration of trained nurses and midwives for the supervision of their work.'

10.—DEFECTIVES.

'(a) This Conference requests the Government of India to take steps to separate the Blind and the Deaf from the Lepers in the category of 'Infirmis' and classify them in the census and other returns under a separate heading of 'The Blind' or 'The Deaf' as the case may be.

'(b) This Conference requests the Government of India to collect and supplement schedule and census statistics of the 'Blind' and the 'Deaf' on the lines followed in Ireland and to make such information available free of charge to institutions and social workers working in their behalf.

'(c) While urging on both the Government and the public the need for greater sympathy with the lot of the defectives, this Conference requests the Government of India to send to foreign countries teachers of the deaf and blind to study the problem of the defectives.

'(d) This Conference is of opinion that provisions should be made for the training of defectives into habits of work and self-reliance, and steps should be taken to check their habits of vagrancy.

'(e) This Conference is of opinion that there is a dearth of trained teachers and inadequate number of special schools for the large number of deaf and blind and recommends that teachers be trained and schools started at every district headquarters place.'

11.—TUBERCULOSIS.

'This Conference is of opinion that :

(1) A vigorous campaign should be carried out to combat tuberculosis under the lead of competent medical authorities and that all Social Service Organizations in the country should co-operate in this matter.

(2) Government should invite the co-operation of all employers of labour for the purpose of providing an adequate living wages and sanitary housing accommodation for the employees.

(3) As the infection of tuberculosis is controllable by proper care and

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removal of children from infected areas, it is necessary that all Infant Welfare Societies should develop on lines similar to those of the Grancher system in Paris—gradually introducing and encouraging methods of isolating children of infected parents in special Orphanages and Homes.

(4) The Government and the various Municipalities should be approached for :—

(a) The creation of more Tuberculosis Dispensaries commensurate with the population.

(b) The appointment of a special staff of Tuberculosis officers, Nurses and Districts Visitors.

(c) The utilisation and conversion of the existing Municipal Dispensaries for certain days in the week as anti-tuberculosis centres.

(d) Establishing homes for advanced cases and increasing hospital accommodation for tubercular cases.

(e) Establishing more sanatoria on defined and efficient lines.'

12.—SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.

' This Conference recommends that Social Settlements should be established in slums, in large cities and in other suitable areas so that educated classes of people might come in closer touch with their poorer brethren and help them in all aspects of their life as friends and good neighbours.'

13.—PROMOTION OF COMMUNITY CENTRE MOVEMENT.

' This Conference recommends to Municipalities and other local bodies to allow and encourage the use of the school buildings as community centres for civic and Social Welfare purposes.'

14.—UPLIFT OF DEPRESSED CLASSES.

' This Conference fully recognises the right of the so-called untouchable classes to the provision of adequate school facilities and wells and the use of public wells, schools, dharmashalas and temples and heartily supports the Bombay Government in its recent orders that state aid should be withdrawn from such educational institutions as refuse admission to children of these classes.'

' This Conference further earnestly requests all local workers to give this question a prominent place among their activities.'

15.—THIRD CLASS RAILWAY PASSENGERS.

' This Conference strongly protests against the continued indifference shown by Railway authorities to the comfort and convenience of the Third Class Railway Passengers and urges upon the Government of India to take early steps to remove their grievances.'

16.—BEGGAR'S CENSUS.

' Recognising the urgent need for checking the evils of beggary, this Conference recommends to Municipalities and local boards that a census of beggars within their jurisdiction be taken at an early date with a view to study their condition and to introduce effective methods for the amelioration of their condition.'

SECOND SESSION OF The National Social Conference

POONA—29TH DECEMBER 1923.

At the close of the Liberal Federation Session at Poona a Social Conference was held under the presidentship of Prof. C. Bhate, simultaneously with the bigger Social Conference held at Cocanada on the same day under Sir Sadasiva Aiyar. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Education Minister of the last Bombay Govt. was the Chairman. Dr. Paranjpye in welcoming the delegates said :—

“Brother Delegates, ladies and gentlemen—

I offer you a most cordial and sincere welcome to this ancient and historic city of Poona which has been the home of modern social reform ever since the advent of British rule. It is now 28 years since the National Social Conference met in Poona in 1895. The controversy about the advisability of lending the Congress Pandal to the Social Conference on that occasion is now forgotten by most people; at that time the reactionary party was allowed to triumph through the generosity and large-mindedness of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, and for once in its history the Social Conference was held in a special pandal erected in the grounds of the Ferguson College which had just then moved into its new home. That session was pronounced by all to have been a signal success, the initial opposition only giving a distinct zest to the workers. Since then there has been no session of the Conference in Poona though about ten years ago we had a very successful session of the Provincial Social Conference under the presidency of Mr. (now Sir) V. Joshi. I trust that it will not be many years before we have further sessions of such Conference in this city.

Poona is peculiarly suitable as a venue for a Social Conference as a flag of our cause has been always kept flying high by many workers of all-India fame. The name of the late Vishnushastri Chitambar may be mentioned as one of the earliest protagonists of Dowry Marriage. Ranade, of whom the whole of India is justly proud, was the heart and soul of all progressive movements in our country, though it may be permissible to single out social reform as the cause that lay nearest his heart. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, I happily among us, has been the source of inspiration to generations of social reformers, and I am sure I am echoing the sentiments of you all when I pray that he will long continue in our midst and serve to remind us of the great men of old. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar is perhaps the greatest social reform stalwart that our presidency has produced. His transparent sincerity, his hatred of shams, his

directness, his wonderful mastery over the Marathi language and his fine character at one time bade fair to make the social reform cause almost popular and the SUDHARAK under him vied with the KESARI of Tilak in popular favour. Chiplunkar and Tilak were not of us, but if I mention their names it is to pay tribute to our great opponents whose greatness called forth the greatness of our champions. Tilak, indeed, in his later days became an advocate, perhaps half-hearted, of some of the items in our programme like the removal of untouchability. I shall do no more than name some of our existing workers as they would not like a personal detailed reference. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and Mr. G. K. Devadhar who have raised the great edifice of the Poona Seva Sadan, Mr. Dhone Keshav Karve whose Indian Women's University and Hindu Widow's Home are standing examples of devoted work, Mr. V. R. Bhinde of the Depressed Classes Mission, our president and Mr. R. B. Joshi who have made the cause of widow marriage their own, are workers of whom any city or presidency may be proud. I may be allowed also to recall the name of Mr. Jotiba Fule, who started the Satya-Shodak movement in order to break down the supremacy of the Brahmin caste, as a man whose work also was very helpful to the cause of social reform. I would earnestly recommend to the delegates and other visitors to see with their own eyes some of these local movements like the Seva Sadan, the Indian Women's University, the Widows' Home and the Depressed Classes Mission. Some of the Educational institutions in this city will also be well worth a visit as they have been conducted with the same guiding motive as other direct social reform organisations.

POONA'S ADVANCEMENT IN EDUCATION.

Ladies and gentlemen, the last twenty-eight years have seen a distinct advance in our cause in Poona. It was then a very rare sight to see grown-up girls going to school. Now we have a Girls' High School with over 400 girls on its rolls and passing over twenty girls at the Matriculation every year. The Seva Sadan has nearly a thousand girls, widows and married women receiving instruction in its various branches. About thirty young Indian ladies are every year qualifying as Nurses or Sub-assistant Surgeons in the Sassoon Hospital. The institutions founded by Prof. Karve have about 300 girls in their classes. The Colleges here have about 50 girls studying in various classes. Caste system is slowly losing its strangle-hold upon our Society and even inter caste marriages are occasionally celebrated. All classes of people give at least lip service to the principle of the abolition of untouchability. The marriage age of girls has risen among the higher classes to about sixteen at least. The active opposition of the reactionary party among us has disappeared and we even occasionally read of a Sanatan Sabha discussing the problem of untouchability. Widow marriages are now not rare and hardly call for any public notice. All this is to the good

But the "raison d'être" of our movement has not yet disappeared. The caste system is giving rise to inter-communal jealousies. The Brahmin vs. the non-Brahmin movement is keeping us back politically. The Hindu Mahomedan question is the great millstone round the neck of India and until it is solved no real progress is possible. The treatment we give to our depressed classes is a standing blot on our country, and we are reaping its indirect fruits in the treatment that Indians are receiving in other parts of the Empire. The strongest advocacy of Indian claims loses practically all its force when we are taunted with our attitude to these classes. Education of girls and women though making some progress must make far greater strides if all our people are to pull their full weight. Questions of temperance and prohibition are still as far from solution as ever. The ever-growing aggregation of manual workers in large urban areas is opening up new problems. The threatened depletion of rural areas, at least so far as the more intellectual elements of the population are concerned, is sure to present difficulties in future and should, therefore, be earnestly considered now before the problem becomes very serious. Infant mortality which is due to want of physical stamina among the people and to colossal ignorance about infant welfare among the women of our country is a standing menace to the growth of a healthy population. The population question is attracting the serious attention of many earnest thinkers in the West, but is hardly even recognised as existing in India. Proper legislation on marriage and inheritance should attract the attention of our new legislators and a well-considered and comprehensive measure of legislation would have a tremendous effect on our progress. Dr. Gour's Bill has now been passed into law but still requires a good deal of amplification. The purdah system is still as vigorous as ever in many parts of our country, but without its downfall and until our women have the fullest opportunities of realising all their capabilities, our progress is bound to be only half-hearted and slow. These are some of the questions which a Social Conference must consider and I think that this conference will serve to focus intelligent and advanced public opinion on them.

DO AWAY WITH ARTIFICIAL INEQUALITIES.

After all, the ideal before every social reformer is to bring about such conditions in our country that creed, race, sex or both will not be too great a handicap on any Indian. We cannot of course do away with all inequalities which exist in the nature of things. But in our country tradition has imposed artificial inequalities which are tenfold as numerous and galling as the inevitable natural inequalities. It must be the aim of every social reformer to do away with these. Tradition and prescription have their proper place but they should be made our servants and not our masters. These traditions have been handed down to us from days in which conditions were

together different. India is no longer an isolated country. It has to take its place among the nations of the world. Do you think that we are going to cut a creditable figure in this world race if we needlessly handicap ourselves with enormous dead-weights of our own imposition? India has survived for many centuries but it would be a misreading of history to believe that she will continue to exist in the changed conditions of the twentieth century if we continue to harp upon dead tradition. Remember that history never actually repeats itself. Its lessons have to be rightly interpreted. The vast masses in the world outside India will surely cast longing eyes on our fair country. All the empty countries of the world are being gradually filled up. If we do not put our house in order we shall without doubt follow Greece and Rome, Babylonia, Chaldaea and Egypt of old into mere memories. The contest between the white and coloured races is getting more and more intense. Are you going to live as a nation or die out? That is the question before the India of to-day. Before this fundamental question all smaller questions should pale into insignificance. But we must have courage to face the issues. These issues are political only in a narrow sense. They are social to the core. Earnest thinkers are required to think out the problems and the leaders should tell the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth to the people. I do not wish to pose as an alarmist but I wish earnestly to exhort all my countrymen to be courageous and not faltering, to cast aside the indolence of centuries and to work in the belief that earnest effort will always tell. I have hopes of a great future for our country but only if we are honest workers. Awake, arise, or be forever fallen!

The President's Address

The President, Prof. G. C. Bhate, in the course of his address, said :—

There is no denying the fact that though social and political movements began their career at the same time, the political movement has far outstripped the social. The former has gone forward by leaps and bounds and has reached the nook and corner of this vast country; while the latter has, at times, almost remained stationary and is confined to cities. Let us consider the causes of the contrasting careers of the two movements. Such a consideration will further elucidate the nature and function of Social Reform.

POLITICAL VERSUS SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

Hindu civilisation and Hindu literature are woefully lacking in political thought and political philosophy. Hindu political thought was more in the nature of state-craft and never went beyond the conception of the divine right of Kings. In fact, this political philosophy was quite primitive. No doubt, the Hindu population had its small village communities but they had no ideas of democratic government, of representative institutions, of the rights of

the people, of the conception of the State being the servant of the people; of the ideas of election. In short, on the political side the Indian mind was like a virgin soil. So when the new political ideas were sown on this soil by the Western Education, they germinated immediately and developed into vigorous and growing plants. There were no weeds nor underwood in the form of old ideas on the subject to obstruct the life and growth of these new plants in the form of political ideas of the West. Hence the educated minds in India were captivated by the political ideas and ideals and hence the task of the political worker was easy. He did not meet with opposition or obstruction. In the matter of the spread of political ideas, it was smooth sailing for him. The result is that within a comparatively short period of sixty years, all the educated and the partially educated population have become politically-minded and have adopted the most radical views in politics and, from being the most docile and law-abiding people that they were, have become prone to lawlessness and revolutionary excesses.

This is, to my mind, the real reason why the political movement has spread so rapidly throughout the length and breadth of India. Now the case of Social Reform is entirely different. Hindu Society had long ago formed definite ideals about the individual, the family and married life, and social structure and organisation. In fact, in this field, there were definite customs, ideas and beliefs which had full sway over the minds of the people. The law-givers had given a permanent mould to the whole life of man and woman. The Hindu Society, at the time of the advent of Western Education, was a society fully organised and shaped on a definite pattern. Lapse of time and the inevitable tendency to degeneration had done their work in warping and wasting the web of Society. To put the matter in the form of a metaphor, as we said that in the field of Political Philosophy the Hindu mind was like a virgin soil without growth of any plant or tree, so we might say that in the matter of Social Philosophy the Hindu mind was originally like a well-planned garden but by want of watchfulness it slowly and gradually degenerated into a wild ground, overgrown with weeds and underwood and only with a few old trees standing still. Here, therefore, the work of social reformer was like that of a skilful gardener. He had not to work in a virgin soil. He had to remove the weeds and the underwood; he had to modify the old plan of the garden; he had to cut down noxious trees; he had to plant new trees; and he had to graft the new upon the old. In short, the work of a Social Reformer in the present Hindu Society is as difficult as the work of a gardener when he has to rear a beautiful garden on the wild ground of an old castle. This explains why the work of Social Reform in India is bound to be slow. He has to contend against inveterate customs, he has to show the beauty and reasonableness of his new ideas. Of course this is a slow work and requires great patience and perseverance.

WIDOW MARRIAGE—THE TEST.

Just as at the time of the Renaissance in Europe belief in the Copernican system of Astronomy was an infallible test of a man of modern world, so acceptance of the reform of widow marriage is, to my mind, an infallible test of a man of reformed ideas. For, whoever has assimilated the principle of individual freedom, whoever has reflected upon the principle of equality, whoever has realised in himself the spirit of fairness and mercy, whoever has contemplated the reality, dignity and perfectability of human life, and lastly, whoever has understood the aim and ideal of the marriage institution, must be in favour of widow marriage. Prejudice against widow marriage was deep-rooted in the minds of even educated men; but gradually it is wearing out. So far as conviction on the point goes many a man is now prepared to admit the desirability of widow marriage. The difficulty now presented is that widowers do not go in generally for widow marriage. This is due to the general lack of moral courage and steadfastness of purpose required for putting one's convictions into practice.

THE QUESTION OF CASTE.

In the last class of the problems of Social Reform the one that prominently stands out is the question of castes and its effects upon society. For some time past, in all provinces, one sees signs of the hydra-headed monster of caste jealousy, caste exclusiveness, caste hatred, raising its head again in the land. There is no denying the fact that in this matter one is impressed with the contrast of the state of things obtaining in the first period of the spread of western education and that which obtains now. As I told you the first movement to rise was religious. Now all leaders in the several provinces that took part in that movement were both religious reformers and social reformers, and they, therefore, one and all denounced the evils of caste. In those days a man like Rajaram Shastree brought the problem of untouchability, pointed out the absolute injustice, inhumanity and also the Shastric unwarrantability of the practice. Men like Messrs. Modak, Ranade, Agarkar, Chandawarkar and Dr. Bhandarkar, who is happily still amongst us on our side, all did their best to do away with the evils of caste by thought, word and action. It is through their efforts that the first consciousness of the backwardness and the necessity of coming into line with the advanced castes (in the minds of the backward and the depressed classes in our community) was awakened. But what is the state of things to-day? The backward and the depressed classes have come to denounce the so-called domination of the higher castes. Of course no one can object, and as a matter of fact no one objects, to the efforts of the backward classes to stand on their own legs and to try to improve their position by agitation among the caste people. For such work every true well-wisher of India will have full sympathy. But it must be remembered that for raising

the position of the backward and the depressed, it is not necessary nor desirable of level down the higher classes, or to denounce them in season and out of season. To do such a thing is to punish the enlightened men of the present generation for the sins of their forefathers. May I then appeal to the leaders of the present non-Brahmana movement not to do anything calculated to create a feeling of estrangement between the Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas. Let us all co-operate with each other for the purpose of levelling up all classes to a higher status by the spread of education, by the spread of a sense of nationality, a desire to reform individually and collectively. It is by such common and united efforts that the advance of the whole Hindu Society in all directions will be accelerated.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed at the Poona Social Conference.

I. The Late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

That this Conference places on record its deep sense of the great loss the cause of Indian Social Reform has suffered on account of the sad death of Dr. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar who, during all his public career, devoted himself to the promotion of Social Reform among all classes of people by his powerful and persuasive eloquence, also by his pure conduct and life, and who was for over 20 years the General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference.

II. Creed of the Social Reform Movement in India.

That this Conference, while welcoming the increased interest in social matters visible all over the country, is of opinion that the time has now come for defining the creed of the Social Reform movement in India and considers that the aim and ideal of this movement should be the promotion of social purity and the basic principles of liberty, equality and brotherhood in order to bring about social reconstruction by doing away with all artificial distinctions based on birth, caste, colour, sect or sex and that this ideal should be the creed of the Social Reform movement in India.

III. Social Unification.

That this Conference is strongly of opinion that the progress of the country in all directions depends upon perfect harmony and union among the various communities in India who form the bulk of the Indian population and urges upon the leaders of all the communities to inculcate into the minds of the people the spirit of mutual toleration and of 'give and take' in matters social and religious, in order to achieve real social unification.

IV. Abolition of Caste.

That in the opinion of this Conference the caste system as it prevails in the Hindu community constitutes a serious obstacle to the growth of a sound social, political and industrial life and as such antagonistic to a true national unity. This Conference, therefore, welcomes the efforts made by various castes to amalgamate the sub-castes but it urges upon all the Social Reform Associations in the country as also upon individual reformers the necessity of sustained endeavours to consciously adopt and persevere in a course of conduct calculated eventually to obliterate all caste distinctions.

V. Removal of Untouchability.

(1) That in the opinion of this Conference untouchability of the so-called depressed classes is a stigma on our society and therefore it very strongly exhorts each man and woman to make an earnest effort to completely remove the same by extending to them all civic rights and privileges.

(2) That this Conference further appeals to all the public bodies and institutions maintained on public funds to throw open their doors fully to depressed classes and remove all traces of untouchability.

(3) That this Conference congratulates the last Bombay Legislative Council for passing a resolution recommending the removal of untouchability from public wells and Dharmashalas and congratulates especially Dr. Paranjpye on his admirable efforts for uplifting the depressed classes and removing untouchability from public schools.

VI. Social Evils.

(1) That this Conference takes this opportunity of heartily endorsing the action taken by the last Legislative Assembly in raising the age of consent to extra-marital connexion to eighteen years, and instructs its Secretaries to forward the considered opinion of this Conference to the hon'ble the Home Member.

(2) That this Conference welcomes the legislative measures against Prostitution taken in Burma, Bengal and Bombay, but considers that they fall short of the requirements of the situation.

(3) That this Conference urges the adoption of the general principle that to make money out of the vice of other people must be made a criminal offence, and believes that such adoption would cut at the root not only of prostitution, but likewise of Gambling, Drunkenness, Drug-addiction and all other vices which are now increasingly in process of being commercialized.

VII. Intercaste Marriages.

(1) That this Conference places on record its sense of thankfulness to Dr. H. S. Gour for his strenuous efforts in successfully piloting the special marriage bill through the Legislative Assembly and

for having thus secured liberty of conscience to those who go in for inter-caste marriage.

(2) That this Conference urges upon the members of the new Legislative Assembly to introduce another bill for validating inter-caste marriage among Hindus who want to adhere to the existing Hindu marriage custom and want to maintain the present religious rites in the celebration of marriage.

VIII. Widow Re-marriage.

That this Conference, while noting with satisfaction the growing sympathy of the general public for the cause of widow marriage and the increasing number of widow marriages in some of the castes in which widow marriage is prohibited by custom, express regret at the fact that actual progress of this cause is very slow and earnestly appeals to the educated classes to give up their indifference and apathy and strongly urges upon the Social Reformers the necessity of pushing forward this cause by opening a vigorous propaganda to remove the wrong notions about widow re-marriage and to convince the public of the higher ideal of the married life.

IX. Abolition of Early Marriage.

That this Conference is of opinion that the minimum age of marriage for boys and girls should be respectively 21 and 18 and believes that the time has come to pass legislation preventing child-marriages, and therefore urges Social Reformers to educate public opinion and to agitate for securing suitable legislation to prevent child marriages.

X. Education of Women.

That this Conference records its satisfaction at the progress which the education of women in this country is making, though with varying rates in different provinces, and strongly urges upon the attention of the public, the legislative bodies and their responsible ministers, the need for making strenuous efforts for the spread of education and general knowledge among women by means of regular schools, home classes, lectures &c. and has great pleasure in recording its appreciation of the useful work done by several institutions in this direction.

XI. The Uplift of Aborigines.

This Conference requests all Social Reformers to direct their attention to the social, economic and civic uplift of aboriginal forest and gipsy tribes, such as Bhils, Kaliparajs, Gonds, and Santals and start missions for such work.

XII. Women's Property Rights.

This Conference is of opinion that the rights and privileges of women should be enlarged and placed on a fair and equitable basis and suggests the early adoption of legislative measures in that behalf.

XIII. Direction of Charity.

That this Conference is of opinion that mis-directed charity even though made in the name of religion is a demoralising factor of great seriousness and that public opinion must, therefore, be systematically educated to alter the existing system, the objective of real charity being equipping the helpless to carry on the battle of life with a spirit of self-reliance. The Conference is further of opinion that in order to cultivate self-reliance, helpless people who really are the object of charity, should be taught domestic industries. It further considers that measures may be introduced to demand the regular publication of audited accounts and report of charitable institutions which are the creations of charitable trusts. It further considers that if necessary demand may be made eventually for legislation to this effect.

XIV. Franchise To Women.

This Conference is of opinion that since the removal of civic or social disabilities under which women labour can never fully be achieved as long as they are disenfranchised, this Conference is of opinion that suffrage must be extended to women on the same conditions as to men.

XV. Infant welfare and Maternity Care.

This Conference, looking to the present rate of mortality that prevails amongst the infants of the country, which is not only high as compared with that in other civilised countries, but a great intrinsic loss to the future resources of the country, and which is attributable to causes which are to a great extent preventable, recommends that:—

(1) Steps may be taken in each province by the leading social workers, to establish Infant Welfare Centres and Maternity Clinics at important centres, with a view to afford relief and to educate public opinion on the all-important questions of the proper caring of infants and very young children and of maternity care.

(2) Steps may be taken to organise the work of training suitable women as mid-wives and nurses at the more important hospitals in each province so as to bring trained assistance in maternity cases and for nursing sick children within the easy reach of the general population, both rural and urban.

XVI. Abolition of Anti-social Customs and Practices.

This Conference protests emphatically against the continuance of such anti-social customs and practices as wasteful wedding expenditure, dowry and purdah systems.

XVII. Appointment of Secretaries.

This Conference appoints Mr. G. K. Devadhar and Mr. D. G.

Dalvi as Secretaries for the National Social Conference till the next Conference.

XVIII. Executive Committee.

This Conference resolves that an Executive Committee consisting of the President of the Conference, the Secretaries of this Conference and the General Secretaries of the National Conference together with the ladies and gentlemen mentioned do constitute themselves the executive of the National Social Conference to carry on propaganda for social reform during the forthcoming year and to undertake to start a network of local organizations, to arrange meetings and deputations &c., and to take such other steps as may be necessary in the interest of this work. It also further resolves that the Committee be empowered to collect the necessary funds for this work.

XIX. Abolition of Hereditary Services.

This Conference is of opinion that a Legislative measure providing for the abolition of hereditary services in villages be placed on the statute book as early as possible.

XX. Rural Improvement.

This Conference is of opinion that the cause of social reform has not made appreciable advance in rural parts, so as to bring them on a line with the advanced urban population for real progress. This Conference, therefore, urges on the Government and the people the need of adopting promptly suitable measures and for providing adequate facilities for the speedy improvement of these rural classes. This Conference, further exhorts people to attend, to give their unstinted support for, institutions which spread Primary Education Village Libraries, Co-operation, Sanitation, Agriculture and Cottage Industries &c. in rural areas and thus promote the social well-being of the masses.

THIRD (35TH) SESSION OF THE All-India Social Conference

COCANADA—29TH, DECEMBER 1923

The bigger Social Conference in connection with the All-India gatherings Cocanada was held at the latter place on 29th. December 1923 with Sir Madhav Aiyer as the President.

The following is the welcome address of Sjt. A. Somanatharao, Chairman, Reception Committee of the 35th Indian National Social Conference, held during the Congress week at Cocanada :—

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Social Conference I offer you a hearty welcome. You all know the object for which we have met here. We have come to deliberate upon the evils that have crept into our society and to adopt such measures as to see them eradicated as soon as possible. It is a sacred duty ; as such, it should be approached and performed with profound devotional sincerity.

The evils are :—

Child marriages :—By these child marriages the children begin to entertain the idea of husband and wife when they are quite young and thus they become prematurely mature. These marriages come in the way of their development both physical and mental. These marriages produce child-mothers. These mothers necessarily produce weaklings as they have neither sufficient space in their wombs for the development of their children nor sufficient milk to suckle them. The duties of mothers are multitudinous and the moulding of the character of children mostly depends upon them. A child-mother will not be able to discharge her duties as she has not sufficient opportunity to develop herself. Child-marriages produce child-widows also. Is there a more heinous crime than to call a poor child a widow? One who is not prepared to shed a tear at the deplorable condition of these poor child-widows is not a man ; and wretched are they who try their best to relieve the distress of these poor widows.

Cases of mortality in child-birth and infants are enormously increasing on account of these child-marriages. Cases of abortion and infanticide or homicide are of common occurrence. To put a stop to all these evils, we shall have to encourage post-puberty and widow marriages. In my opinion, no girl under 16 and no boy under 24 should be married.

Marriage is a sacred institution. It is meant for the production

of good and healthy progeny ; for which men and women must be fully developed both mentally and physically before they marry.

Caste.—Caste is producing unnecessary animosities. The best antidote to this is the introduction of inter-dining and inter-marriages. There must be as many occasions as possible for cosmopolitan dinners ; and we should also see that caste does not come in the way of selection of husband and wife.

I am glad that these conferences are arranging cosmopolitan dinners and I hope all the sincere advocates of reform will take part in the one to be arranged here also.

Dowry system. :—This evil is not only ruining many families but also creating hatred instead of love between husband and wife. If the sphere of selection is widened by introducing inter-marriages, I think, this evil may decrease to a great extent.

Drink. :—Every religion forbids it. Every drunkard knows the evil result of it. But still he persists in it. When once it takes root, it is very difficult to eradicate it. Let us not waste more energy in preaching to those that are already addicted to it ; but let us see that the young ones who are not yet initiated into it do not go in for it. Public drunkards may be approached and in some cases may be brought round also ; but there are some secret or private drunkards whom it is not possible either to approach or to reproach or to preach to. God only can redeem these enlightened drunkards.

Devadasees or Dancing girls. :—To have a separate institution for prostitution is simply shameful to our nation. It must be discouraged under any circumstances. There is already a spirit of revolt in the community itself. It is our duty to fan this fire of enthusiasm in them and to help them in their endeavours to regenerate.

Depressed classes. :—Our inhuman ill-treatment of these classes is our highest crime. We have sinned to an enormous degree. We shall have to make amends for it. Let us see that they are well educated and enter every honourable profession freely. Let us shake hands with them.

The Presidential Address .

The President, Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyar, then delivered a lengthy address, in the course of which he said :—

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS.

Some preliminary statements might be made to clear the ground. Though this is called the Indian National Social Conference, its origin and history indicate that large questions like prison reform, treatment of criminals, reform of penal laws, co-operative movements, work in slums, amelioration of the condition of factory and

her labourers, sanitary reform, mass education, child welfare, etc., are not intended to be dealt with in the Conference except indirectly and incidentally. The great M. G. Ranade who is the father of this conference movement has said repeatedly that it was impossible to place the great beneficial movements of reform, social, political, religious, and moral into water-tight compartments. We are living in a divine universe in which the vibration caused by even the falling of a pin spreads to and affects every point in the universe up to the furthest circumference, the whole being vibrant with God's One life.

PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE.

For all practical purposes, however, it might be stated that these conferences are intended to deal with the reforms necessary in the prevailing social customs and institutions of the Hindu section of the population of India and not with larger questions dealt with in Conferences like the Social Workers' Conference recently held in Bombay under the presidency of Dr. Annie Besant.

Thus the title "Indian National" is somewhat misleading. Evils existing in the social institutions of our Mussalman brothers and sisters or our Christian brothers and sisters are not considered or dealt with in these Conferences. To speak frankly, these communities would probably consider it an impertinence on our part if we allude to the evils in their social institutions, customs and manners, though eminent Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians have been attending these really Hindu Conferences as friendly visitors and a few of them might have even spoken therein. The name "All-India Hindu Social Institutions Reform Conference" would therefore be a less misleading though a more cumbersome name than the present one.

OUR WORK.

Our work then is usually narrowed down to the consideration of the following questions :—

1. The problem of Hindu castes,
2. The problem of the uplift of Hindu women,
3. The problem of purity in food and drink and sex-relation among Hindus,
4. The problem connected with foreign travel of Hindus of the so-called higher castes and
5. The problem of the Hindu Depressed Classes, including the problem of their right to join in communal Hindu worship in temples.

Before dealing with these five questions, in order, I think it my duty to remember those who belonged to the Guru Parampara in this movement and who have left the physical plane of existence. Swami Ram Mohan Roy is our first Guru in this movement, as in all other reform movements. He has been described thus by Dr. Annie Besant :

"That extraordinary spirit of fire and steel, whose heroic courage faced alone the dread and then unbroken force of Hindu orthodoxy and planted the seed of freedom, the seed destined to grow into a spreading tree, the leaves of which are for the healing of the nation. He strove to bring his countrymen back to the purity of ancient Hinduism, and to this end he directed all his strength. He was the first Indian to grasp the inter-dependence of the four lines of Indian progress,—religious, educational, social and political. He is the father of Modern India."

A few of the other Hindus in this Guru Parampara are:—Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sasipad Bannerjee, Raghunath Rao, Veeresalingam Panthulu, Vivekananda and N. G. Chandavarkar. Of course, the Guru Parampara did not begin with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, but with the Lord Sri Krishna Himself, and was continued through the Lord Buddha, and Saints and Sages of the Bhakti School including both Vaishnavaites and Saivites. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was, however, the first Hindu in modern times to re-awaken the movement which had gone into almost a dead sleep from the middle of the 18th century.

TRIBUTE TO LATE SIR N. CHANDAVARKAR.

I cannot, however, begin this address without adverting to the heavy loss sustained by the Reform movement through the passing away of that supremely cultured and devoutly religious philanthropist, Sir Narayana Chandavarkar. He has gone to his well-earned rest in preparation for even more strenuous work in a new body for our sacred cause and for our Motherland. His example is a shining light to us.

The work of the various Social Reform societies and organizations during the past year is also usually reviewed in the beginning of the President's address. I felt that I was wholly unequal to perform that duty. Fortunately my old and esteemed friend, the main-stay of our movement after Sir N. Chandavarkar, Mr. K. Natarajan has, in the issue of the Indian Social Reformer of the 15th December 1923 enumerated the activities which have taken place during the year. The article is headed "Principal Social Reform events in 1923." I beg that that article might be treated as an appendix to this address. The activities of organisations like the Bharata Samaj at Advar (to which I shall refer again later on) and of the communal organisations like those under the leadership of the Theeya Narayana Guru Swami of Malabar are not included in the article. But the fault is that of the leaders of these organisations who do not advertise themselves sufficiently and who do not send their reports to the Secretaries of the All-India Social Reform Conference as they ought to have done.

CASTE.

I shall now first take up the question of caste. You will excuse me if I have felt it my duty to use strong language in connection

with this subject; Armstrong said in his Essay on Charles Bradlaugh:—

“The mellifluous flow of gentle speech will not always arouse the sleepers or prick the sluggards to activity”.

That the allegory of the Purusha Sukta should be taken literally shows how religion has become materialised and how instead of spiritualising matter and form, we have degraded religion itself into materialism. “Scholars are practically unanimous in asserting that the book of Daniel is an allegory”. It is but one instance of many which might be given to show how fundamentally critical scholarship has modified the old view of Scripture. The authority of the Bible remains. It is indeed enhanced, because Scripture is read in the light of modern knowledge. In this country, however, even English-educated Indians are mostly imbued with the unhistorical spirit of fossilised Pandits. As a class we lack the spirit of higher criticism. We continue in the Vakyartha,—interpretative and argumentative stage of mediæval hair-splitting, narrowness and literalism. The caste system as it exists now is rigid, lacking in flexibility, wooden, mechanical, ante-diluvian, and unadapted to modern conditions of the day. The system as it exists to day has to pass away. It was, when first established, natural, and promoted the true, the good, and the beautiful for several centuries in the limited area and under the peculiar conditions existing in the particular sphere in which it was established by Lord Vaivasvata Manu, but it has now become a danger and menace to progress. The name of Brahmana and Sudra has very largely ceased to note the Brahmana or Sudra qualities or occupations or character. To use the name Brahmana or Sudra to designate a Hindu has become now very misleading, when we have now Brahmana Abkari contractors, Brahmana perjurers, Brahmana land-holders (Bhu-Vaisyas), Brahmana merchants and usurers (Vaniyya and Kuseeda Vaisyas), Sudra Executive Councillors, Sudra Rajahs and Zamindars, Sudra educational and religious preachers and professors, like our respected Dewan Bahadur K. Venkatarama Naidu or Bhagavan Das or S'r J. C. Bose. I know some Brahmana usurer who grind the faces of the poor and suck the life-blood of the poor like vampires, who kill by starvation whole families by their extortions and who are yet in the odour of orthodoxy and merely talk of ‘Ahimsa’ and ‘Advaitism.’ This real VARNA SAMKARA,—much worse than the mere blood SAMKARA, which Arjuna rather foolishly thought was so very bad that he was prepared to abandon his temperamental Kshatriya duty, himself thus creating a much worse SAMKARA, that is, the possession of one kind of character and the performance of a wholly different kind of duty,—is not at all exceptional in these days, as pretended by some English-educated reactionary Hindus. Exceptions are said to prove a rule, but when the exceptions become fairly numerous, they either eat up the rule or the rule has to be radically modified in statement from its original form.

Surely when the names of leading and successful Hindu teachers of science, religion, or morality in modern times have to be mentioned, the names of Keshab Chundra Sen, Vivekananda, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Saint Gandhi, Professor Venkataratnam, Saint Ramalingaswami, Rabu Bhagavan Das and others too numerous to mention, all non-brahmins by birth, come spontaneously to our lips, and to argue that these are rare exceptions shows an utter lack of true perspective and common-sense. We are in the 'Kali Yuga' and the forms of our institutions have to be modified as directed in our Shastras themselves in the light of the Plan of 'Iswara', and the goal of human evolution. We know that the Lord Himself has changed the glorious colour of His outer body into white, red, yellow, and blue in order to accomodate Himself to the different environments and circumstances prevailing in the 4 different Yuga cycles.

Hence also in the Uttara Ramayana, it is clearly said that mere birth as Sudra does not disqualify a man in the Kali Yuga for practising any kind of *tapas* (study, meditation, austerity and sacrifice). The Maha-Bharata says, "Not births, not *SAMSKARAS*, not study of the Vedas, not ancestry are causes of Brahminhood. Conduct alone is verily the cause thereof." Manu says, "As a wooden elephant, as a leathern deer, such is the unlearned Brahmin. The three are only names. The Brahmana who does not follow his duty of learning and teaching religion, but follows other professions ceases to be a Brahmana in that very life. The Sudra by birth becomes a Brahmana and the Brahmana a Sudra by his conduct. Know the same rule to apply to him who is born of a Kshatriya or a Vaisya. It is conduct that makes them, not birth." I do not think that even a hundred Hindus in the British Madras Province deserve to be classed as real Brahmanas. There are about 33 millions of Hindus in the Madras Presidency excluding the Native States. Brahmanas by presumed birth are less than 1½ millions in number. Those who have given out their profession according to the Census report as teaching or service in temples or other religious work vary between 5 per cent among Uriya Brahmanas and 15 per cent among Malabar Brahmanas. Thus about 1½ lakhs may be taken as Brahmanas by profession according to their own estimate. But these include cooks and menial servants in temples, purohitas and Panchagam Brahmins, who mispronounce the mantras whose meaning they do not know, and who are more beggars by profession than servants of religion. Of teachers, most are elementary and lower school teachers who have bargained for their remuneration and are therefore really Vaisyas of a low class. It is only those who have taken the vow of poverty and of control of the senses and the mind, who never retain out of voluntary presents made to them more than is necessary for 10 days' maintenance for themselves, their wives and children and their pupils, who selflessly teach all those who approach them seeking knowledge, it is only those teachers and scientists by profession who have taken the Yagnika

Diksha of self-sacrifice and service that are entitled to be classed as Brahmanas and they cannot be more than 100 in number in the Madras Presidency and many of them are not Brahmanas by birth.

OUR ANCESTRY.

We are all descended from the first or Swayambhu Manu, each succeeding Manu being the descendant of the previous Manu, who established His own distinct race. We, Aryans, are descendants of the fifth or Vaivasvata Manu, who Himself was descended from Chakshusha Manu, who founded the 4th root-race now represented by the Chinese, the Burmese, and the Japanese. Hence we are all Manavas and are brothers of one blood. The blind stupidity, which ignores etymology and history, which forgets the clear statement in all the Puranas that there was no caste originally, that the caste system was introduced for the first time in the Treta Yuga on account of the necessities of that age and of the succeeding Dwapara Yuga and the clever, disingenuous obscurantism which interprets allegorical and figurative language literally in order to bolster up later rotten customs and superstitions should be treated with contempt by all of us. All the really devout sages and saints even in the later ages have uniformly said that only character, temperament, faculty, aptitude, special talent and ordinary profession have to be looked to for finding out the real caste of a person in the Kali Yuga. The great majority of the modern Madras Hindus are Vaisyas by temperament and profession and it is absurd to call them either Brahmanas or Sudras. As Vaisyas we are all entitled to Upanayana, Gayatri and the title of Dwijas. Mudaliars, Pillais, Naidus, Kammas, Reddies, Iyers, Iyengars, Raos, and Acharyas are almost all Vaisyas and yet some so-called Brahmanas have instigated the Mattadhipatis (a professional class of so-called sanyasis who have been created in the mediaeval degenerate ages) to issue Shrimukhams denying the status of Vaisyas even to our brothers of the Komutti community, most of whom undoubtedly by temperament and profession and by their liberal charitable use of wealth, like the late Cunnan and Ramanujam Chetty brothers, are pre-eminently entitled to be called Vaisyas, while most of the so-called Brahmanas, who are Bhu-Vaisyas (land-owners) or Vanijya Vaisyas (traders, capitalists, and usurers) trading as vakils, clerks and Government servants, sometimes on their intelligence, are only bad Vaisyas.

SUDRAS.

The number of Madras Hindus who could properly be designated as Sudras is probably less than 2 millions out of 33 millions. The term "Sudra" has got, as usual with many words, a higher and a lower meaning. In its higher meaning, it means an unselfish servant, and the Lord Mahadeva and a pupil who served his Guru with absolute devotion have been invoked and addressed by the honoured title of 'Sudra' in the Scriptures. In its lower and common

meaning, it signifies a 'tamasic' person without any initiative and who could do only manual, unintelligent, unskilled work for wages when hunger impels him or desire for personal pleasures goads him, or when compelled as a serf or as a slave to work. Such Sudras by temperamental caste are now very few. As I have said already, most Hindus are now Vaisyas by caste; by race, Hindus of all castes, and no caste except a few dying hill tribes, belong to the first sub-race of the fifth Koot-Race, that is, the Hindu sub-race of the Aryan Koot-race. For at least ten thousand years, during the plastic period of human life (seven to fourteen years) and till death the Aryan Culture Samskara has been affecting all Hindu Indians. The Hindu racial features of us all have been moulded thereby into the Aryan type, even the features of those few who have not got much physical Aryan blood (by inter-marriages etc.) in their bodies. To call a person like my respected friends A. Govinda Pillai, Retired Judge of Trivandrum (the Grand Old Man of that State), or Sir Sankaran Nair (whose features are much more typically Aryan than that of most of the birth Brahmanas whom I know), to call such persons Sudras is ridiculously absurd and insulting, and yet I was shocked to learn, when I was in Travancore, that when a Nair gentleman gets into the witness box in a Court of Justice, he is described as Sudra in the deposition statement. Many, even of the depressed classes like Pulayas and Parayas must be classed as Vaisyas by temperament and profession, as I find that in the Census Report in Madras, out of 1,000 Pariahs, Panchamas, about 370 are land-owners or cultivating tenants (not mere agricultural labourers) or independent breeders of cattle. All these 370 are entitled to be taught the Gayatri Mantra and those who dedicate themselves to be co-workers with the Lord (who is the embodiment of sacrifice and the greatest sacrificer) transcend caste. I believe with Mr. C. F. Andrews (a true Brahmana) that the true spirituality of humble self-sacrifice might be discovered among the persecuted and the poor Indian masses in a larger degree than among the richer classes and castes, the Lord Christ having expressed very strongly, two thousand years ago, that attachment to riches is the greatest obstacle to spiritual progress. It goes without saying that all the four castes are necessary for the orderly working of human society except in the Tretayuga when simple homogeneity reigned for long periods. There are different powers and talents predominating in each of the four castes and such powers and talents should be employed primarily for serving the whole social fabric. But the Rajasik quality of ambition and greed overpowers human beings, and when during a particular period or amidst particular environments, the talents and powers of a particular caste are most in need in the society, that caste takes advantage of its temporary higher importance and uses its opportunity to impose a tyrannical yoke on the other castes and tries to perpetuate its tyranny by magnifying the importance of its own physical heredity far beyond its legitimate

scope. The Brahmanas whose scientific knowledge of Nature's Divine Forces (Devas) was required in the Ice-age to break up vritra-galciars for the production of rain and for the increase of agricultural produce and for releasing fertilising streams in the Himalayan valleys, where the Aryan First sub-race then resided, became tyrannical and terrorised all other castes by the use of their scientific knowledge. The tyrannical Bhṛigu Clan was then almost exterminated by the Lord, and this is allegorically represented as the cutting off of the head of Bhṛigu's wife (who was producing asuric Brahmanas from her womb) by Vishnu's Charka.

KSHATTRIYAS.

Again, the Kshattriyas with their military power become tyrannical and claimed Divine Hereditary Rights to oppress their subjects and used their power against even harmless ascetic Brahmanas. They were destroyed for 21 generations by Parasurama, a minor Avatara. The Brahmanas then prospered again and as usual, became tyrannical in their turn, grasped even the ruling power (which did not properly belong to them), and hence Parasurama was overpowered by Rama Avatar, and the Rakshasa Brahmanas under the Sama-Vedic Brahmana tyrant, Ravana, were largely destroyed. Sri Krishna destroyed tyrannical kings like Jarasandha, Kamsa and Sishupala by scores and brought about the defeat or destruction of greedy and powerful Brahmanas like Drona and Aswathama, but even those whose bodies were struck off by the Lord were dealt with thus by Him for their own ultimate good, because the good Lord who made us, He made and loveth all.

In this age of Kali-competition and strife we have to work for the future, the coming Krita Yuga of one caste, the caste of co-operative help, equality and simplicity. The Tamil woman-Saint, Auvayar, therefore laid down that as preparation for the Krita Yuga, there should be only two castes in the Kaliyuga, the higher caste of "Ittar", the caste of self-sacrificers, servers and givers, and the lower caste of "Idadar", of selfish graspers and enjoyers. The grasping and excommunicating Thambirans and other Mattadhipathis (barring of course the few exceptions among them such as the Kuruttoti Shan-karacharya and the Tirupapuliyur Jnaniyar) belong to the lower of the two castes. The so-called Sadhus and Sanyasis of whom there are several lacs in India, many of them addicted to ganja, opium and liquor, must of course mostly be classed as the dregs of the lower caste. It is, however, our duty to try to teach and organise these so-called Sadhus, so that they may give up their idle ways and become useful citizens of Mother India. Though the Gita mentions 4 castes, classified according to Guna-Karma it also classifies human beings in the 16th Chapter into 4 classes alone, namely, those belonging to Daivi Sampat, the higher caste of Lady Saint Auvai, and those belonging to the Asuri Sampat, the lower caste of Auvai. The present innumerable caste divisions are based on no

principle except uncertain and in many cases, misleading physical heredity. Let us for all practical purposes recognise only the two divisions, the relatively unselfish and the relatively selfish, the Knowers of God's Plan and the non-knowers, the followers of righteous brotherlines and the worshippers of Mammon. You will forgive me for having taken up so much of your time on this question of caste status, but I have felt that on the solution of this question depends the solution of all other questions arising out of social evils in Hindu society.

UPLIFT OF WOMEN.

The second of the 5 questions I have enunciated is the question of the uplift of Hindu women. The Hindu community is at present very lop-sided. Among the agricultural and labouring classes, however, where women are obliged to live in out-door labouring life almost to the same extent as men, there is greater equality of feeling and status between the sexes than in the so-called higher classes. We must take our ladies along with us in all educational, social and spiritual matters, not only for their benefit, but for the benefit of us men also, as without their help and the carrying out of their points of view, it is impossible to have real progress even of men alone. The gosha system which prevails among Hindus in Northern India must be abolished. On the subject of child marriage Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins writes :

" There is also that fatal arrest of all mental development as the girl comes near 'her age', a criminal custom only equalled by its climax, the snatching of the girl the moment she attains puberty, and then forcing on her, just as she turns fourteen (and even earlier), of motherhood. After the age of twelve (or even 10) she is withdrawn from school and from then till the moment when she attains puberty she is confined and guarded like a prisoner, and jealously watched for fear her marriage (if it has not taken place already) be in any way interfered with. She is discouraged from learning anything, except perhaps cooking. I know cases in which even accomplishments such as music are looked at askance. She is not allowed to move outside of her own street, hardly beyond her parent's house. Her companions are limited. She gets practically no physical exercise. All but the dullest girls suffer from reduced vitality, depressed spirits, and much suppressed rebellion of the mind at a state of affairs which they instinctively feel to be wrong and unnatural. As in the sacred name of religion people have been tortured and murdered, so in the holy name of castity and marriage the bodies, minds and souls of many young Muhammadan and caste girls of India are starved and dwarfed. Their bodies are deprived of air and motion and contact with Nature; their minds are denied knowledge of books, or free human contact; their souls are wounded by the repression of all their impulses towards free self-expression, and by the denial of the wide experiences of life without which life becomes meaningless. The result is that these young

girls are in the worst condition possible when 'custom' forces them into the sexual embrace of an almost unknown husband, and in an agony of shyness, self-consciousness and fear, the first-born, the continuer of the race, is conceived."

WOMANS QUALITIES.

As Vivekananda said: "Men are not going to raise themselves up, and men need only give their sympathy and should not cause obstruction by their tyranny." Patient endurance, sustained enthusiasm and practical perseverance till the end is accomplished, are more seen in women than in men, as shown in the lives of Savitri, Sita and Droupadi. The way in which my cousin, Mrs. Chandrasekhara Iyer, F. T. S., of Bangalore, is raising the status of women in the Mysore Province by her unrivalled enthusiasm, affords a very good illustration of my above view as to the practical talents of ladies. The 10th Chapter of the Gita states that women represent 'kshama', patience, tenacious memory, (Smriti) and steadfast perseverance (Driti).

MARRIAGE.

We may next turn to the problem of marriage. Monogamy must be the ideal for these modern times. The proper marriage is that of a man (who has completed his preliminary education) with an adult woman who has also finished her preliminary education on her own appropriate lines. The continuation of the race and the giving of strong and pure bodies to advanced souls are holy acts. The carrying on together of social, spiritual and religious work harmoniously and better than either husband or wife could do separately (the man bringing his angle of vision, and the woman her slightly different angle of vision, and both visions coalescing under a single, harmonious purpose) must be the primary object of marriage. The enjoyment of connubial pleasures not opposed to these primary dharmas is allowed by the Lord in His mercy. My learned brother, Pandit Mahadeva Sastri, has shown by quotations from the Vedas and by the exposition of the meaning of the seven steps taken together by the couple at marriage, that the husband and the wife are equal partners and enter into the marriage relations with full knowledge of their duties. Harita says: "All sacramental rites for woman should be conducted with Vedic texts. Among women there is a two-fold distinction: those who continue to study the Vedas and those who marry at once," Heroes and Rishis were formerly born of fully developed and educated Indian women. "When women were degraded by men's selfishness and pride of sex, how few heroes and no Rishis; cause and effect is in your power to change." (Annie Besant). Don't excuse yourself by appealing to misunderstood karma. "That way madness lies," the madness producing fatalistic indolence and stony-heartedness, or the madness which indulges in wild actions due to the hopeless despair which reformers with tender hearts and highly-strong nerves sometimes fall

into. Listen to the wise words of Ex-Justice, Sir John Woodroffe :—

"The belief that each man and woman is a Shakti, whose power of accomplishment is only limited by their wills, is a faith which will dispel all present weakness and sloth. We shall be what we will to be. Each must realise himself to be fragment of the great Shakti which is India, and then of the infinite Shakti on whose lap she lies—the Mother of the Universe."

The bride is addressed in some of the mantras :

"Go to the house, that thou mayest be the lady of the house; As mistress of the house direct the sacrificial rites. Become thou now my partner as thou hast paced all the seven steps with me. Partners we have become, as we have together passed all the seven steps. Thy partnership I have gained. Apart from thee now I cannot live. Apart from me do thou not live. We shall live together: we shall will together: we shall be a source of joy each unto the other; with mutual goodwill we shall live together, sharing alike all foods and powers combined. I join thy mind, thy actions, thy senses with mine. Be thou a loving queen to the father-in-law, a loving queen to the mother-in-law, a loving queen to the sister-in-law, and a loving queen to the brother-in-law."

FOOD, DRINK AND SEX RELATIONS.

The third problem is the problem of food, drink and sex relations.

Liquor containing alcohol in weak quantities may not be impure drink to a western body or to one of the drinking classes in India. But if a Mussalman, descended from progenitors who have followed his great religion, which absolutely prohibits the drinking of spirituous liquors, begins to drink, it is a very impure action for him. So also when a Brahmana, who from the days of the Brahmana sage Bhargava Shukra has been prohibited from drinking any spirituous liquor, begins to indulge in alcoholic liquors, his action is very impure. A Rig Vedic Mantra prohibits the drinking of impure liquids and the indulgence in intoxicants and stupifiers like ganjah or opium. Even tobacco is impure, though it is a very mild poison when compared with the others. Whatever increases the quantity of "tamas" in the physical body or in the emotional or the intellectual body, is impure. When the gratification of the palate is made the first consideration, instead of the strengthening of the pranas, eating itself becomes an impure act. Whatever food increases the strength of the passionate nature increases the "rajasic" quality and is therefore impure, though not so impure as the food which increases the "tamasic" quality.

Bodily Purity.

The above principles to guide our actions being thus kept in

mind, every one should gradually make his body more and more pure by resorting to purer food. Sudden change of diet and habit makes the body rebel and kick against the pricks, and might even destroy the physical organism ; such suddenness should therefore be avoided. Alcohol, being the product of putrefaction and fermentation, is excremental in its nature. The life in the body, in trying to throw off the poison, gets a little stimulated in the beginning, just as, when a poison is first introduced into the blood, the white corpuscles rush in to attack the intruder and are thus stimulated and thrown into a fever in order to throw off the poison. But such stimulation is effected at the cost of the ultimate weakening of the life : of the pineal gland and the pituitary especially ; as regards the spiritual centres of the body the action of alcohol is very pernicious. Those who want to get into Raja Yoga initiations ought to give up alcohol completely, though gradually. "If any of the three twice-born classes has tasted unknowingly anything that has touched spirituous liquor, he must, after penance, be girt anew with the sacrificial thread." (Manu).

PURITY OF FOOD

The same principle applies to the question of the purity and the impurity of food. What vegetables and animal foods are impure is detailed in Manu and other Smritis. Some vegetables, like onions, do promote the tamasic tendency. Vegetables like chillies promote the rajasic quality. The Lord Sri Krishna in the 17th Chapter of the Gita has given the characterisation of the different kinds of foods. Stale and rotten food is tamasic. Juicy, fresh and substantial food is sattvic. As regards magnetic purity, food given in love or reverence is magnetically pure. A Brahmana can take food from his household Shudra servant who is attached to his master. The very fact that custom varies in different parts of India shows that the custom Drishti-dosham, which is carried very far in the South even between men of the same caste and sect, is not shastric and now serves merely as an artificial producer of hatred and contempt. This artificial and ceremonial purity is now developed even at the cost of true physical sanitary and magnetic purity. I have found that many of my European brothers and sisters, who use soap and disinfecting liquids freely, are much more pure than many orthodox Brahmans. One of these latter would bathe in green, chemically and physically dirty water (the impurity being patent to sight and smell), after he had washed the impurities of the teeth and other parts of his body in it, and then, would come along the road in ridiculous jumps instead of protecting himself from the street impurities by wearing clean shoes on his feet, shouting out to everybody to keep out of his proximity.

All this shows the effects of materialistic religion, which prefers the letter to the spirit, and prefers superstitious ceremonial purity to real purity. Bhaktas, from Prahlada downwards, have tried to kill

these absurdities. They introduced the principle that in the Lord's temples there is no drishtidosham or Panktidosham, as the pure food offered to God, though touched and seen by brother devotees of different birth-castes, is pure. But this rule did not, as was intended, leaven the actions of people in their own homes,

PROSTITUTION

The social evil has become very bad in all civilised countries and especially in towns. The expedient in Hindu society of having a separate prostitute class (rigidly regulated, however, till recently by their own caste rules and regulations) has now become antiquated and useless. The problem is a very hard one to solve. Knowledge is the great purifier, as the Gita says. The squeamishness and concealment indulged in as regards these matters merely leads to hypocrisy, pharism, secret vices and evils, which it is considered not decent even to refer to. The Upanayana ceremony and the Brahmacharya system have now become wooden, mechanical and soul-less. The Boy Scout and Girl Guides system is, I am sure, the result of inspiration, and if it is made to prevail universally in India, the Brahmacharya Ashrama can be revived in the true spirit, though of course not in the mere letter; purity of thoughts, actions, desires and speech being one of the ideals of the Scout movement required to be carried out in daily practice. May the Lord give us the strength of mind to tackle this problem of social evil properly. I feel myself too weak in knowledge and experience to offer any final solution. Very patient and prolonged consideration by several wise men and women sitting in council is required for the solution of such a knotty problem. The solution attempted of old of having a separate caste of prostitutes has now become useless and enlightened conscience revolts against condemning persons to a life-long degraded status and profession merely because they were born in a degraded caste. I am glad to say that in South India several members of dancing girl community itself, especially in the District of Coimbatore, are taking steps to abolish the caste custom dedicating their girls to a life of shame. Marriage of such girls is now very common. The very wise legislative enactment, which will commemorate for ever Dr. Gour's name, has also given facilities to men of other castes taking girls and women of this community as their lawful wives. In this connection I wish that Courts of Justice remember that law is organized common-sense. It is surely not common sense to indulge in the absurd fiction that dancing girl prostitutes obtain minor girls from their parents or pick up orphan girls and adopt them for the purpose of obtaining spiritual benefit for themselves and their ancestors, and that even plural adoptions, if there is a custom, are valid. Is legislation the only remedy and are courts bound to perpetuate the horrid custom of adoption of minors by prostitutes? We know that if legislation is attempted, the attempt is usually over-borne by the cry: "Great Hindu spiritual religion is being attacked sacri-

legiously." This same cry was raised by the hyper-orthodox Hindus when our great patriot, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, brought his bill to declare the validity of post-puberty marriages.

THE DEPRESSED GLASSES

I now come to the last problem, that of the Depressed or suppressed classes. The getting of purity by temporary exclusiveness is not intended for yourself alone, but that you may ultimately share it with those who are not so pure. If you are always afraid of catching impurity from morning till we go to bed, looking as you walk down the streets at every fellow creature whether he will pollute you by coming nearer than the prescribed distance; your whole nature gets much more impure by this perpetual fear and thought of impurity, and even your physical bodies cannot preserve any purity except false ceremonial purity. When purity becomes wholly self-centred, when a woman draws away the hem of her garment in order not to be polluted by the touch of a fallen sister, or when a Brahmana shouts out to a Pariah in anger not to come near him, the mental and moral impurity they acquire by their fear, contempt and anger is much fouler than the small physical purity which they may temporarily retain by their exclusiveness. The Lords of Karma will probably make them in their next birth to be born among the classes whom they were always thinking of through the fear of being polluted by their contact—both the Brahmanas and the non-Brahmanas having incurred a lot of bad karma by their treatment of the Depressed Classes. Until they wipe it out by self-sacrificing good karma, the nation cannot rise up. Irrationality, blasphemy and sacrilege cannot go further than when we find an orthodox Hindu, who is willing to shake hands with a man of the Depressed Classes who has turned Christian or Mussalman, but who would not allow a B. A. B. L., pious, public-spirited, altruistic Thiya who is really Brahmana by character and conduct and cleaner in habits than the ordinary Brahmana, to go along a public road bounded by temple wall or bound of his caste-people's tank. I have no doubt that the priests of such a temple have in many cases driven out the higher Devas who once existed within it, as such higher Devas cannot approve of such outrageous conduct.

Our Hindu Depressed Classes are far superior to similar classes in Western lands as they are not at all brutal and as they have, as a class, no ill-feeling of vindictiveness for past injuries. As they very easily learn the value of truths like karma and re-incarnation, and the value of devotion and education, work for their uplift is much more easy and pleasant than similar work in Western countries.

Is it not the duty of so-called Brahmins and sadhus, is it not the duty of Temple organizations, Mutt organizations, to tackle the question of the uplift of the suppressed classes, of woman, of universal education? I know that an orthodox Hindu looks upon me as too harsh in my criticisms of the existing Temples and Mutt viewed as a

whole. But what does my esteemed friend Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, who is generally acknowledged to be a sober, moderate, acute thinker, say about these Temples and Mutts in his communication published at page 10 of the "New India" paper of 17th December 1923? That the religious endowments require a strict control and that there is waste of large sums of money by immoral and semi-literate men in Kashayam and by lay trustees in South India is well-known. That Mutts should not be without some sort of control may readily be admitted; that misappropriation, misuse and malversation of mutt-funds should be brought under control, no one in his senses living in this Tanjore District can object to. That these Mutts and Temples are fostering as effective a set of unscrupulous men as ever existed under one single denomination, there can be no doubt." The talent lying latent among the suppressed classes and which could be used for India's uplift is very great. I have found artistic and musical talent more prevalent among them than among the so-called higher classes. The administrative talent shown by the Captain of the winning team in the last Bombay Quadrangular Tournament (the captain being a member of the Depressed Classes) was an eye-opener to us. The folly, if not the sinfulness, of letting all this talent run to waste by our temples, mutts, Brahmins and Sadhus not doing their duty must now be patent to everyone.

Is it reasonable to expect the Depressed Classes as they become more educated to remain in the Hindu community, if they are not allowed access into Hindu Temples? Without the reform and revival of Hindu religion so as to convert it from its present exclusive and invidious nature to a democratic faith of a theistic and theosophical character, which allows not only the Depressed Classes to benefit by services in common places of worship, but also allows other races to adopt its faith and to be known as Hindus, it must become more and more fossilised and dead.

ONE FINAL WORD.

One final word as to the line of future action. After Rānade's death the task of co-ordinating our work and of reporting progress has not been as well done as in his days. I think that we should more and more take the help of younger men and women in the matter of organisation. Youth has got more energy and initiative, young men and women are less likely to fall into ruts of routine and mere talk without action, than old tired-out people like myself. Youth looks to the future with hope and confidence and not to the past with regret. Though there has been a golden age in the past there is a golden Kritha Yuga in the future also and the future Kritha Yuga will be more glorious than the past one. I believe in reincarnation and we, who are now in the present, have lived in the past ages (re-births talking place on an average once in 700 or 1000 years.) We may not have had the fortune to have lived in the past Kritha Yuga and may have been living in a state of sleep in some

other world in that age. But we have lived in the Treta and Dwapara Yugas and ordinary mankind including ourselves was less evolved and more brutal and sensual than now. Do not commit the mistake of supposing that the mass of Hindus were more virtuous in those yugas than now. They were really less virtuous. The generation of youths now in India is in my opinion more advanced spiritually and morally than the youth of my generation and of the generation next to mine, my generation being two steps removed from the present one. If you want initiative and continuity in work of Social Reform, you must take steps that the youths who are the heroes of the future are inspired with the passion for Reform and are given a share in the practical work of bringing about a better state of things.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed :—

"That the caste system as it now prevails being based purely on presumed birth is contrary to the spirit of national unity and brotherhood and must therefore be abolished."

"That the custom of treating certain castes as untouchables merely on the ground of birth is monstrously irrational and irreligious and that the depressed classes should be helped by suitable social service by the caste Hindus, at least in partial discharge of the long-standing obligation to the depressed classes who should also be allowed the privileges in public Hindu temples granted to caste Hindus as such."

"That the educational facilities should be granted more largely to females and all invidious distinctions as regards rights and privileges in religious, social, political and vocational matters between the two sexes ought to be abolished."

"That injurious marriage customs such as early marriage and immature parentage through early consummation, enforced widowhood and exaction of prices for brides and bridegrooms should be abolished and that unnecessary and artificial restrictions in the choice of brides and bridegrooms should be abolished by making the selection as wide as possible, consistently with eugenic and hygienic principles even by legislation if necessary, or advisable."

"That the custom in certain Hindu castes under which the women do not marry but are dedicated to an immoral life as Devadasees or under other names should be abolished and they should be incorporated into the communities following the ordinary social rules as to marriage, and that an asylum should be started for the children of those that have followed the profession."

"That the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs except for medicinal purposes be completely given up by the Hindu community."

